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(Bharati—Utkal University Journal-Humanities, Vol. IX, No. 16, July 1979)

A COUNTER - ECONOMY ?

Surya Kanta Das

"Plain living and high thinking" has gained new momentum among younger generation in the United States. The craze for high standard of life, conspicuous consumption, conspicuous accumulation of material things are losing their attractiveness for quite a substantial number of citizens in the United States. Commentators of the American social scene have called this trend for simple life-style as "the frugality phenomenon". The search is on for an outwardly simple and inwardly rich life-style.

The Stanford Research Institute, at Stanford University Palo Alto, has catalogued the following features of the frugality phenomenon. "Nearly 5 million Americans living lives of voluntary simplicity appear to be predominantly young (between the ages of 18 to 39), evenly divided between the sexes, almost exclusively white, from middle — or upper — classbackgrounds, exceptionally well-educated, bimodal in income, politically independent and largely urban. The reasons these men and women have chosen simple life-styles include the desire to live in a way that is outwardly simple and inwardly rich or a 'preference for smallness' as opposed to complexity, annonymity, artificiality, dehumanization, manipulation, and wastefulnesss".[1]

According to the estimates of the Stanford Research Institute the number of people embracing *full* voluntary simplicity was 5 million in 1978; it is likely to grow up to 25 million in 1987, and to 60 million in the year 2000 AD, while those opting for *partial* voluntary simple life-styles would be from 10 million to 35 million in 1937, and 60 million by the turn of the century. The five to six million adult Americans who have adopted voluntary simplicity (VS) are called "VS-ers". The Stanford Researchers believe that VS-ers' life-style is emerging with "much potential for impact on business planners in the United States and other developed nations".[2]

According to *Morgan Guaranty Survey*, the monthly publication of one of the leading banks of Wall Street — The Morgan Guaranty Trust Company of New York — "followers of VS believe in living simply and frugally. The 'big life' is out. The idea is to shun gigantism; rather, small is considered beautiful. They favour homegrown food, homemade furniture. There is a strong sense of ecological urgencys with much concern about personal growth".[3] Continuing further, the *Survey* notes that although Americans eat better, live longer, and are better educated, "in our striving for abundance we have created the making of a colossal failure: a new age of scarcity — of energy, of critical materials, of water, of arable land. Pollution grows; over population is a menace."[4]

The philosophy of life of those embracing voluntary simplicity includes a "drive towards' simplification of the external/material aspects of living, greater self-sufficiency, sharing of goods, natural living in its fullest current sense, decentralization of institutions and their dehumanizing effects, and quest for inner exploration with its implied philosophic ramifications".[5]

Frugality : A New Resource

The frugality phenomenon poses the following challenges before American Management :—

(a) Less junk; more high-quality products on all levels.

(b) Less fashion orientation for clothes, more durability.

(c) More do-it-yourself and fix-it-yourself products of all types.

(d) More health foods.

(e) More self-help and self-care items.

(f) More energy conserving, food conserving, and recycling products and services.

(g) Different leisure activities and products.

The retreat from materialism and the growth in voluntary simplicity are having remarkable impact on the American Economy. As one perspicaious commentator observes : "A counter-economy more interested in *psychic* than material income seems to be taking root within the mainstream of the industrialized nations".[6] Voluntary simplicity or the frugality phenomenon has caused remarkably new developments in the economy of the USA. Marketing specialists have noticed that changing life styles have introduced new trends in marketing, product design and product planning. "Person living the simple life tends to prefer products that are functional, healthy, nonpolluting, durable, repairable, recyclable or made from renewable raw materials, energy-cheap, authentic, esthetically pleasing, and made through simple technology".[7]

The market for these types of products is now valued at $ 35 billion; it is likely to soar to $ 140 billion in 1987, and to nearly $ 300 billions in 2000 AD. Marketing specialists are gearing their tools to serve this "fastest growing consumer market of the coming decades."

The shift from materialism to post-materialism has set marketing specialists and economists thinking about how best the benefits can be reaped. Frugality is now treated as a new resource available to management. "Frugality is a national 'meta-level economic resource' as valuable as mineral reserves or manufacturing plants. The reason is that the fewer demands made on any mainstream economic system — particularly one going through the trauma of declining growth rates — the greater the chances of their being met".[8]

The frugality movement is reflected in consumers' desire for more and more durable and re-usable products. The emphasis is on longer-lasting products, and on the direct savings to consumers that could accrue from having to replace less often the products in which they have a major investment. *Increased product life* means greater reliability and fewer repairs; more satisfied consumers. "In addition to benefits for the individual consumer, extending product life also promises to benefit society as a whole. There is an increasingly recognized need for a ahift in societal values towards resource conservation as dictated by encroaching scarcities (or rising costs). Thus a primary societal incentive for extending product life involves the opportunity to save material and energy resources that go into the manufacture of consumer goads. It can also be expected that large product life will help alleviate the waste disposal burden that has become one of the nastier by—products of this age of technological prosperity".[9]

Quiet Revolution ?

Opportunities for extending product life are not merely questions of design and manufacturing technology. When people talk about increasing product life, they usally focus on technological solutions to product durability. Thus consumer attitude, product usage behaviour, durability of products, remanufacturing possibilities lead to technological smprovements — all are by-products of the frugality phenomenon.

The findings of Stanford Research Institute have been reinforced by results of Public Opinion Polls conducted by Louis Harris and Associate Inc. The public opinion survey disclosed that 79 per cent of those polled preferred to live with "basic essentials" whereas only 17 per cent preferred "reaching higher standards of living". A perponderant majority of 76 per cent chose "learning to get our pleasure out of non-material experiences" and only 17 per cent wished to "satisy our needs for more goods and services".

Significantly, pollsters call this a quiet revolution in the "national values and aspirations" of Americans.

Support for voluntary simplicity comes for government agencies such as U. S. Environmental Protection Agency. Surveying the next quarter century of possibie economic trends, the Agency concludes that "the more Americans living frugal life-styles, the better chance the U. S. economy will have to weather the economic storms ahead".[10]

A basic tenet of VS is that unbound growth connot go on for ever. When the implication of VS sink in, or VS catchas on, and a non-consumerist life-style is embraced by more Americans, will it foreshadow a transformation in their goals and values? Does VS mean non-growth, non-work, no progress? Does it symbolise life styles attuned to *enough* rather than *more*?

The VS-ers, rebels against the Western materialistic welfare society, are up against the ever-increasing accumulation of physical comforts and luxuries. VS-ers' life style corresponds to Gandhian simplicity of living. Gandhiji wrote in *Hind Swaraj*: "The true test of modern civilization lies in the fact that people living in it make bodily welfare the object of life".[11] He further observed: "I do not believe that multiplication of wants, and machinery contributed to supply them is taking the world a single step nearer its goal".[12]

Way of Life?

Millions of Americans are discovering anew the joys of simple living. It is significant that VS-ers are *exceptionally well educated*; one fourth of them are students (with incomes under $ 5000 annually), and another fourth hed incomes of over $ 15000 in November 1977. Sixty million Americans will become *full* participants in VS by the end of the century. Another 60 million may be *partial* VS-ers; with yet another 25 million sympathizers, the total will constitute a sizable populace. *Morgan Guaranty Survey* estimates that by the year 2000 AD roughly half of the adult population in USA is expected to be embracing VS. Groups have been formed to pursue New Age Life Styles, or the Philosophy of "right livelihood". The high-energy high-consumption life style resulting in uncontrolled, undirected industrial growth seems to crcate more problems than it solves.

Indications are that VS, if it is a threat, it is at least not imminent. The *Morgan Guaranty Survey* concludes that a very effective, high-productivity sector of the U. S. economy would be absolutely essential alongside the VS sector in order to prevent an horrendous drop in living standards. The VS movement is a very significant movement — "but it's not totality".

A different prognosis about impact of VS is "whether the frugality phenomenon represents a fundamental shift in Weastern economic attitudes, or something *mere* transitory, remains to be seen. What does seem clear, however, is that the appearance of millions of Americans, Canadians, Britons, Swedes, and others willing to live more frugal lives could not have come at a more opportune time".[13]

The search of Economic Growth with "Conservation", economic development to harmonize with nature, and elimination of waste represent an historic transition in the philosophy of life of Americans. A new responsibility has fallen on corporate management to create new and better products which contribute to the health, well-being and quality of human life. This can be done by a judicious combination of innovation and technological progress tuned with simple life-style.

The "Squander Society" has begun to appreciate the Buddhist economic principle of maximum personal satisfaction with minimum consumption. Economic cure-alls such as stimulants of tax cuts and budget deficits are being reassessed for their value in stimulating a viable society with a high quality of life.

In this reassessment, the crucial question is : Can frugality and self-reliance become a "way of life" in the U. S. A. ?

NOTES

1. Carter Henderson, "The Frugility Phenomenon", ***Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists***, May 1978, p. 25.

2. "Finding the Simple Life", ***Management Review*** (American Management Association, New York), March 1978, p. 50.

3. "March of the Frugalmice", *The Morgan Guaranty Survey* (Morgan Guaranty Trust Company, New York), June 1977, p. 13.

4. *Ibid* p. 14.

5. *Management Review*, March 1978, p. 50.

6. Carter Henderson, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

7. *Loc. cit.*, p. 25.

8. Carter Henderson, "Shifting Gears : The American Economy in Transition", *Management Review* (American Management Association, New York), Sept. 1978, p. 44.

9. Robert T. Lund and W. Michael Denney, "Extending Product Life : Time to Remanufacture ?" *Management Review*, March 1978, p. 22.

10. Henderson, "The Frugality Phenomenon", p. 26.

11 & 12. Quoted in *Relevance of Gandhian Economics* by Shriman Narayan (Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad 14), p. 3-4.

13. Henderson, "The Frugality Phenomenon", p. 27.

(Bharati—Utkal University Journal-Humanities, Vol. IX, No. 16, July 1979)

PROBLEM OF HOUSING IN URBAN AREAS : CENTRE AND STATES

Sharada Rath

The municipal legistation in India has been largely, a product of the twenties when, under the Govt. of India Act 1919, "Local-Self Government" was made a transferred subject, placed in the charge of a popularly elected minister accountable to the provincial legislative assembly. The main intention of evolving such a scheme was to divert the attention of the people from the national movement for the freedom of the country. So the developements and improvements in the fields of education, public housing, public health, communication etc. which could be a credit to the local bodies, were over-shadowed or even retarded by other factors.

In post-independence era, the growing importance of urban local administration in India can be well-appreciated in the perspective of the trend towards urbanisation and industrialisation. Between 1921 and 1951 the urban population rose from about 27 million to about 62 million, the proportion of the urban to the total population increasing from about 11 to 17 percent. In the censuses of 1961 and 1971 the percentage of urban population to the total population of the country was 18.0 and 19.9 respectively. The urban population is currently growing about 5% a year, or doubling in about 15 years. According to 1971 census, there are altogether 2641 urban centres and about 1800 municipal bodies.

The factors for the growth in the importance of towns and cities in Post-Independence India have beeen economic, political, social and cultural. Even before the achievement of independence the big cities and towns of India were important links in the spread of education, modernisation and political awakening which contributed largely to the spread of the national struggle for independence. The adoption of economic and social planning through the successive Five Year Plans has led to development of new industrial centres as well as the expansion of the existing ones, both in the public and private sectors. In this process many new towns have expanded rather to uncontrollable proportions. The growth of the urban areas and their population has been accompanied by several developments of an unplanned character, throwing up fresh challenges to our ability and ingenuity in the art of organisation of human relations and common affairs. The Planning Commission rightly observed in the Second Five Year Plan :

> As the national economy has become more closely integrated, the economic, social and political importance of towns has increased. In the nature of things, much of the development in the past has been of an unplanned character. Large towns have attracted to themselves new industries and services and the problems of providing housing and other amenities have become increasingly acute. Rise in land values, speculatives buying of lands in the proximity of growing towns, high rentals and the developement of slum areas are features common to most large towns. Few municipal administrations have been able to cope with the problems which have thus grown cumulatively. [1]

It is in the context of planned economic development and rapid industrialisation that the Planning Commission drew attention in the Second Five Year Plan to the special study of three problems, namely (a) methods of securing planned development in urban areas, (b) expansion of housing facilities, and (c) development of civil administrations along sound and progessive lines.

Problem of Housing :

In the social services programmes of a modern welfare state housing is of an ever-increasing priority, particularly since Second World War. The shortage of space and the growing cost of building a residential house, as well as the industrialist's general indifference to slum have made public housing a need which cannot be filled up without governmental planning and action in the field. Alongwith rising population, "high prices and increase of building costs made the housing problem in India" "one of great magnitude and complexity".[2]

Public Housing and the Constitution :

The city Government has no constitutional status, it is virtually under the State Government. The powers which has been constitutionally allotted to State Governments are, to some extent, delegated to the city Government. In the scheme of distribution of powers, colonisation, industrial housing, works, land and buildings are in the State List.[3]

Central Government undertakes rehabilitation of the displaced persons and factory workers concurrent with State Governments. The power relating to economic and social planning, concurrently vested in both the Union and State Governments, brought planning for social services including housing, within the purview of the Central Government. Thus, the appearance of shortage of houses in rapidly growing urban centres call for the involvement of both the Union and State Governments from the very outset. Realising the importance of public housing, the Report of the Ministr for the year 1956-57 comments "Healthy living conditions are a basic human need and no progressive government can afford to be indifferent to the problem presented by overcrowding and congestion prevailing in large parts of the country".[4]

Public housing has crossed the boundary of local and State Governments and has become a national problem to be dealt with at national level. The need for a national approach and national planning brought the Centre into the field of public housing. The housing policy as adopted by the Government of India for the whole nation is to reduce the building costs so as to bring reasonable housing accomodation with the means of large masses of people, particularly in the low-income groups. As a consequence, a national housing progromme was drawn up in the First Five Year Plan which included two schemes : (i) Low Income-Group Housing Scheme (introduced in November 1954) and (ii) Subsidised Industrial Housing Scheme (introduced in September 1952). Subsequently, during the Second Plan six more schemes were added such as (i) the Slum-Clearance Scheme (started in 1956), (ii) The Plantation Labour Housing Scheme (introduced in April, 1956), (iii) The Rural Housing Scheme : Pilot Projects (started in 1957), (iv) Middle-Income Group Housing Scheme (Introduced in February 1959), and (vi) Land Acquisition and Development Scheme (introduced in October 1959). During the Third Plan only one more scheme was added, that is, the Jhuggi and Jhopri Removal Scheme, (Delhi, introduced in 1960).

To implement the Low-Income Housing Scheme, the Central Government bears a huge financial burden. State Governments accept the loans with the conditions attached that loans are to be disbursed for the building of homes and six monthly reports containing satisfactory progress must reach the Central Government. But, on the other, the State Governments are the spending authorities of the loan and they have to administer the scheme. To implement Subsidised Housing Scheme for the Industrial Workers, financial assistance is given to the State Governments, who will be entirely responsible for the proper utilisation of funds and regular repayments of the loans to the Government of India with interests thereon. Before sanctioning the projects, the State Governments are required to satisfy themselves that the projects formulated by approved agencies are in strict conformity with the various provisions laid down in the national scheme. In addition, the Government of India may also advise the State Governments on the general planning and other features of the projects and the State Governments and other approved agencies are expected to implement such advice to the extent possible in the execution of the projects.[5]

Response : Centre, State and Local Governments :

Housing problem is primarily a concern of the local government, while State Government's concern may be 75 percent and that of Federal Government may be 25 percent. But in actuality the response of the three levels of Government to the problem does not tally with their respective concern. In terms of concern and response they act differently.

CONCERN		*RESPONSE*
Local Government	100%	25%
State Government	75%	50%
National Government ...	25%	100%

Sometimes, the urgency has became so great that opinions are expressed for the declaration of a National Housing Policy to accelerate the pace of housing activity. Mr. I. K. Gujral, Union Minister of State for Works and Housing, appreciating the proposal said, " We have been conscious of colossal housing shortage and are therefore in the process of evolving an integrated housing policy. This is the challenge of the seventees." [6] Mr. K. Raghuramiah, Union Works and Housing Minister at present, urged for setting up a National Housing Commission for the formulation of a housing plan without which town and country planning would be effected. He said, in the recent three day Conference of State Ministers for Works and Housing, that a central body should be set up by the Ministry of Works and Houisng to examine the availability of resources and requirements of each State.

The trend has now become clear that Central Government cannot remain outside the field of housing. It is observed that in respect of most of the schemes, the Central Ministry of Housing has taken the lead in initiating the idea, objectives and policy of the scheme. Does the above development mean that the States are free from their traditional responsibility of housing and the Central Government by intervening in the field imposes national supremacy over the State Government ? But our finding shows that this is a wrong conclusion and it is erroneous to think that all having policy schemes are unilateral decisions of the Union Government. Rather, schemes before being put to implementation are discussed and pruned in the Conference of Housing and Urban Development Ministers where ministers from States and Union Territories accompanied by their advisers participate.

Centre-State sharing in the financing of the housing schemes has in general taken the following lines : The bulk of the funds, about 80% of the cost, has been provided by the Government of India and the L. I. C. in the form of grants, subsidies and loans. Nevertheless, the States had to bear 20% of the cost of the scheme. In order to make the States comparatively free, during the Fourth Plan Period, from their heavy dependence on the Centre, the Sub-group on Housing reccomended that the States be encouraged and enabled to set up State Housing Finance Corporation with the object of raising money from Government, other institutional sources, as well as the public (through issue of shares, debentures, direct borrowings) for the promotion and development of the various housing projects.

In the administration of the various housing schemes, the States shoulder the major part of administrative responsibility. As has been stated by the Central Ministry Report for 1967-68, "The Central Government exercises overall control, but actual implementation of the Scheme is by respective State Governments and their agencies.........."[7]

To sum up, in the field of housing, Centre-State cooperation has proved essential and useful. Both have shared responsibility, in different degrees with respect to shaping the schemes, financing them, and finally implementing them for the benefit of the people. The Central Government by formulating and financing housing policies, assume the role of policy-maker, financier and stimulator of housing policies. State Governments undertake the role of spending authorities of federal money, administrator and implementor of these policies. Therefore, housing has opened up a common functional area where cooperation between the Federal Government and State Governments has become a fact and is likely to grow more. The day is approaching when Urban Local Governments would take an active role by creating "housing awarness" among the people and would be an active partner with the State and federal Governments in making policies, financing and implementing the housing schemes.

NOTES

1. Government of India. Planning Commission, Second Five Your Plan 1956, p. 568.
2. M. R. Sachadev, "Foreward", *The Problem of Housing in India* (Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply, Delhi, 1957), p. 1.
3. See Entries 18, 24, 35 of the State List of Seventh Schedules in the Constitution of India.
4. Report 1956-57 (Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply, 1957), p. 27.
5. Subsidized Housing Scheme for Industrial Workers (Ministry of Works, Housing & Supply, Government of India, 1960), p. 8.
6. I. K. Gujral, "Need For A National Housing Policy", *Civic Affairs*, (Vol. 19, No. 6, January, 1972), p. 12.
7. Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply (Government of India, Annual Administration Report, 1967-68), p. 51.

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SOCIOLOGY OF THE PROFESSIONS : AN OVERVIEW WITH ANALYTICAL NOTE ON UNIVERSITY TEACHING AS A PROFESSION

R. N. Srivastava

Institutionalization, specialization and professionalization seem to go together and perhaps coincided with the emergence of Sociology as an independent discipline. Institutionalization standardizes a set of social relations and fixes social roles while professionalization implies a peculiar kind of institutionalization characterized by the extensive self-determination of the activity by its own members. When the conditions of work, standards of performance, and standing of members are determined by some outside agency, we would not call it a profession. Sociology got *institutionalized* once it became a recognised department in the leading universities of the world and began to be taught by specially trained teachers holding degrees in the subject; Sociology became *professionalized* together with the estblishment of recognised scientific societies like Indian Sociological Society, International Sociological Association, World Sociological Congress and Sociological Journals like *Sociological Bulletin*, *Sociological Inquiry*, *Social Forces*, *Social Action*, *Social Welfare*, *Quest*, *Young Researcher*, *Religion and Society*, *Indian Journal of Social Work*, *Indian Journal of Social Research*, *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, *Cultural Forum*, *Calcutta Review*, *Award Newsletter*, *Journal of the Gujrat Research Society*, *Indian Sociological Bulletin*, *Seminar*, *Economic and Political Weekly*, *Kurukshetra*, *Darshan International*, *Social Science*, *International Social Science Bulletin* (of the UNESCO, English and French editions), *Diogenes*, *American Sociological Review*, *American Journal of Sociology*, *Modern Review*, *Social Science Information* (Paris), *Perspectives*, *Journal of Educatianal Sociology*, *British Journal of Sociology*, *Journal of Political Economy and Society*, *Social Policy*, *Sociological Abstracts*, *Encounter*, *Social Research*, then later than the latest Indian additions in *Journal of Social Science*, *Indian Sociologists*, *Social Scientist*, *Indian Sociological Review*, *Indian Journal of Comparative Sociology*, and the (of Indian origin) *International Journal of Critical Sociology*; closely parallel to this, Sociology took to many a channel of *specialization* when it branched itself off into specific areas for deeper analysis and insights, say analysing an "analytic structure" piecemeal and yet understanding it "all of a piece" the "Verstehen" of totality of structure in togetherness with all of its functioning aspects, say keeping the locus always in full view and yet changing the focus as relevant to demand of the situation by placing accent on one aspect or the other at one moment of time whichever matches finest with the given social context and fits into the intellectual atmosphere around. Above are the surest signs of the social crystallization processes, rolled into one, and operating all at once all of time on Sociology and now turning it into a successful professional discipline.

Now let us take a look at the Indian social scene moving around. We find ourselves pre-occupied with development planning tending to lead to economic growth with distributive justice. In the mean while, we have ceased to be critics of economic primacy. We do not live now by the values that we once cherished and upheld. The modes of economic and social organisation and specially the meanings, uses and goals to which productive activities were traditionally directed, now appear to be passing. We feel compelled to put greater reliance on the instrumental goals. Evidences of a New Materialism are not wanting. There is lot of mind-blindness when we try to evade the pervasive aspects of human relationships, not withstanding organizational professionalization, or the lack of it. It goes without saying that all patterned relationships involve all kinds of aspects and problems, those of power and responsibility, of transmission of relevant knowledge and attitudes and of allocation of scarce goods and services. Thus, even in a sharply differentiated and a highly professionalized society where formal organizations, economy-based, reign supreme, however, the fact remains that the economy or bureaucracy is to be properly treated as an analytic structure of category rather than a concrete one—(Marion J. Levy, Jr., *The Structure of Society* (Princeton, N.J. . Princeton University Press, 1952), pp. 88-100). One may properly ask to which family an individual belongs, which town or region, which caste or community, perhaps which social "class". But one cannot ask if he is a member of the economy. If he is alive, he is. He is first and last, a human being, a social being, professional in that strict sense. The earlier decades were dominated, no doubt, by the physical and dismal sciences; 1980's must be devoted to Sociology for dispelling the gloom and bringing back the bloom in budding humanity. Humanities seem to be taking a turn in the direction of getting synthesised into Sociology and with monistic interpretations of human phenomena becoming obsolete, it is highly probable that Sociology may emerge as the architectonic science and sociologist as the great social engineer, the real architect of society.

Turning to theme proper, sociology of the professions is an intellectual endeavour of analysing the complex intersection of economic and non-economic elements in the scope is as wide as the orbit and problematics of professional practice. Within professional institutions business dealings clash with normative elements that specify positive duties and restricted action.

Defining the Professions

The literature on criteria of professionalism is indeed large, and definitions are by no means uniform. The definitions alone, given by leading scholars in the field, would fill many pages but with small gains in achieving uniformity or standardizing the criteria. Talcott Parsons in his "The Professions and Social Structure" (*Social Forces*, 17, pp. 457-467 reprinted in Parsons, ***Essays in Sociological Theory**, **Pure and Applied*** (Giencoe, Jll. : Free Press 1949), Chapter VIII, writes differently from what Everett C. Hughes says in "Professions" included in Kenneth S. Lynn. ed., *The Professions in America* (Boston : Houghton Miffin, 1965) pp. 1-14; and still different view is presented by Bernard Barber in his "Some Problems in the Sociology of the Professions" pp. 15-34, forming a part of the same work, edited by Lynn. If we talk of "Learned" professions alone, we stand to gain both in terms of understanding and analysis and possession of technical qualifications, belonging to formal organization and enjoyment of autonomy, restrained by responsiblity, constitute clearly condensed characteristics of learned professions. One may add with profit two more criteria, namely service orientation aud commitment to a calling which although normative in character get closely meshed in a pragmatic manner, and find their fulfilment in thorough make up of Professionalism. The demands on the professions are ***specialised services*** and the essence of professional service is the provision of solutions or at least attempted solutions to life's problems that lie beyond the pale of a common man. The professionals constitute a fast swelling occupational category both in modernized and modernizing societies. The range of professional occupation is widening day by day and newer and still newer professions are springing up due to increased specialization and increasing number of subject matter specialists. The explosive ills and evils and extension of the notion of secular rationality seem to be responsible for professional growth and continue spread of occupational range and roles.

Role Conflict in Professions

The universe of professionals is characterized by unity in diversities. The established professions of law and medicine may be cosidered as a case in point of professional-client relations whereas university professors and the clergy are the salaried class and have superordinates/subordinates different from their clients contrasting to the situation where the client is the employer. In private practice, the individual client comes up with a complaint, problem or challenge before the professional demanding technical advice or competent service which is generally beyond his own capabilities and here we find that the economic nexus is indeed a curious one in as much as there is an intersection of clashing principles rather than meshing interests and amicably settled, meeting grounds. Free-setting principle varies for considerations from the quantity and quality of service rendered to the client's ability to pay, ranging from the "charity case" to the "man of wealth". However, individual practice is on the decline. We are having more and more of medical clinics, law firms, or firms of engineering consultants. "Commercialism" is being held under check in established professions. The "authority" of the professional depends solely on the client's faith. For this faith entrusted to the professional, he is circumscribed by many a personal commitment and orientation, say that of competent service, efficient discharge of duties and protection of and loyalty to the client's best interests over and above personal judgement to the best of ability and knowledge. Then there is the prevalling concept of "privileged communication" usually in vogue in the professional practice. In spite of all of these restraints and constraints, certain abuses may exist here or there. In dealing with a salaried professional, the position of the client is still weaker. The client takes such services as "fringe benefits" and more a matter of courtesy than of right. And in certain situations, the salaried professional's authority may exceed advice and might even constitute orders.

The Professional and His Colleagues

The Colleagues stay high in the role-set of the professionals. Inter-College relations are many-sided and largely governed by the codes of conduct, competence and ethical performance adopted by professional bodies, associations, societies and congresses. Such bodies not only settle the problems of jurisdiction and disputed competence among specialists but also insure "responsibility" in return for the "trust" of the client. In terms of role relationship, the innocent client simply cannot judge the details of the professional's performance : he can, however, look to consequences, being interested only in end-results. Further, there is no denying that super skill does carry power, the client must be saved from the peril of the asymmetrical power distribution. Both, the client and the professional need to be protected, the client against the unqualified and unscrupulous practitioner, and the trained professional against unhealthy and unfair competition. Monopoly of skill might result as one side-effect of this set of self-controls but that outgrowth can be taken good care of by the state machinery, in an easier way in a democracy that we are wedded to.

Teaching Profession and University Services

We cannot close the foregoing discussion without making a mention of the university, considered by one and all as the sacred "mother" of professions. Indian Universities are so rife with professional specialization and consequent rivalries that nominal colleagues in the same department or discipline find nothing interesting to say to one another, even though each can identify real friends on other compuses. It is by no means clear in the university that there is an equivalent of the internist, say a research fellow or teacher fellow who considers the student-client in somewhat more integrated terms. These are only some of the tragic reflections of existing societal conditions, only rendered more vivid by the more limited framework of the University.

Unlike Marx's concept of alienation, which referred to man's feelings of estrangement from work, its products, self, and others, Durkheim's concept of anomie was directed to a condition of the social system in which the rules of the group no longer provide limits to the individual's impulses. Merton's rendering of anomie is more effective when he focusses on the deregulation of means while stressing Durkheim's suggestion that the deregulation of goals is not the only condition of anomie. More specifically, the undue emphasis placed on "success" in our society and the lack of corresponding emphasis placed on legitimate means for its attainment lead to a "demoralization" of means. Lesser is the access to legitimate channels or means, greater is the spread of normlessness. This kind of analysis suggests that our contemporary society in general, and university system, in particular, happen to be suffering from the combined effects of both, alienation and anomie; the teaching class hit hardest perhaps, with the kinds of values or goals integrally bound up with its peculiar nature of work and its peculiar condition that seem to encourage unrealistic aspirations. Furthermore, there is the suggestion that the university teacher's self-esteem is closely bound up with his work and repute which again allude to alienation from self and others. The shift from achievement-values to success-values in the university educational system strongly suggests coming in of the hiatus between the teacher force and their assigned workroles. Indications are there that the professional ethics of University teaching with its emphasis upon work as an end in itself is on the decline as a normative system. This leads also to weakening of the supportive base of motivation in our social system constituting a big threat to system maintenance understood in functional terms. In simpler terms, if the will to work is threatened, the social system is likewise threatened. This is how the university teacher's general apathy is both a social cause and a psychological consequence. In a word, university seems impaired today by too many conflict situations, for example, culture-conflict, value-conflict, ideological-conflict, role-conflict and what not. The teacher force is dissatisfied for lack of facilities for work, job-involvement, norm-orientedness, adequate incentives and motivating factors, purposefulness of teaching and research activity, self-acknowledgement in a world of economic and social determinism and popular secularized commercialized culture. Knowledge is suffering from the pangs of powerlessness and meaninglessness.

University Teacher is becoming more and more alienated from his professional role since he is finding it difficult to identify with it. Why would a worker fail to identify with his role ? Why the lack of responsibility ? The lack of responsibility towards his role is due to his frustration that he meets with at various social counters. Pushing the analysis likewise Lewis Feuer has gone so far as to identify alienation with frustration. And the worst of it, the Indian university teacher is labouring under "relative deprivation" and constant "threat to his personality". Another aspect of divergency emerges in the conflict between his manifest and the latent roles. For example, if the professional standards, dictated by the latent roles, happen to be in conflict with the organizational and the bureaucratic standards, we may speak of the University teacher as being alienated from his professional role. That is, he is forced to pursue an activity with which he does not identify.

In turn, this opens channels for non-conformity. From the viewpoint of the individual this means, he distrusts the motives of those around him. He regards others as determined to use him for their own ends. In short, he lives in a "context of mutual distrust". To describe this condition Merton uses the term pseudo-gemeinschaft. In this way, the role-strain afflicting the teachers may lead to the breakdown of reciprocal trust and might even damage the normative-pattern of our university, holding it yet under perpetual threat and in ultimate analysis, might prove dangerously disruptive to the stability of our society.

Reiterating the whole thing, now in brief and general terms, we touched upon two important dimensions of role relationships, both involving problems of role-conflict. The first is the question of the primary identification of the salaried university teacher as between his university authorities and his colleagues, both junior and senior; the second, closely linked, is the conflict between loyalty to the employer (Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, Syndicate. Senate etc.) and to clients (students who are not the paymasters) where the two parties are not one and the same.

The problem of organizational loyalty as compared with professional loyalty is endemic wherever professionals are employed in bureaucracies or administrative organizations (William Kornhauser, Scientists in industry : Conflict and Accommodation, (Berkeley : University of California Press, 1962). This problem is acute in colleges and universities where the preponderance of the staff is professional. The professor's status-stature together with his market price is linked up with his name and fame (earned through sheer work) in the professional academies across the country and perhaps in winning over world-wide recognition rather than it goes by the favourable judgement of his departmental colleagues, students' opinion and/or the goodwill of the university administrative officers. Some professors may, however, choose a limited local acceptability but that would surely mark them far more reliant on the campus ballot than if they are pre-eminently marketable intellectual commodities. No doubt, these cases present clear-cut ambivalence in role-responsibilities and loyalty senses, yet, all of these, in no uncertain terms, bring on the mind lot of role-strain. Many a time and on many an occasion, the role relationship appear to be ambiguous and role-confusion following as an unintended consequence.

An added load of headship turns the professors into an administrative authority and he is further clouded by the circumstances while "going over to the enemy" in some degree, at least, in as much as he begins siding the organizational interests, which, at times may run counter to strictly academic and professional interests. Further on, he suffers from the double loss. In face of the fast revolving world of knowledge, the administrative professor gradually loses his professional authentication. His calibre and competence begin stultifying. And since he is paid a little more than specialists engaged in the same department but as subordinates to him, he is treated with feelings of contempt and envy. He is often criticised as a chooser of an alternative path to success that perhaps he was not going to achieve on strictly professional grounds.

To conclude, the noble, peace-loving, truth-seeking, teaching-preaching-researching, intellectual-service-oriented life of the university teacher, a "learned" professional .... all of which, incidentally, is mostly genuine .... is still not free from role ambivalence and conflicting ideologies.

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A STUDY OF THE CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN ORISSA IN THE GANGA PERIOD

J. K. Samal

The Ganga Age in Orissa (1118—1435) marks an important landmark in her cultural history. During this epoch, Orissa saw magnificent achievements of her people in the sphere of literature, religion, art and architecture, music and dance. The culture of modern Orissa, in all its aspects, is a heritage from the time of the Imperial Gangas.

Factors that contributed to the Progress

The Eastern Gangas of Kalinganagara were rulers of a small territory in Srikakulam District. Anantavarma Chodagangadeva, one of the powerful Eastern Ganga kings, annexed the whole of Orissa to his kingdom sametime before 1018 A.D. He and his successors who are usually called "Imperial Gangas" extended the Ganga power over wide regions of the coastal area from the lower course of the Bhagirathi in the north-east to that of the Godavari in the south-west. The Muslim invadors appeared on the Indian scene about the same time the Gangas took over the reins of central government in Orissa Their chief credit lies in their acting as the bulwork of Orissa's defence against the aggression of the Muslims. It is remarkable that for three centuries, they successfully resisted all Muslim invasions from the north as well as the south and kept the torch of freedom burning bright, when practically the whole of Hindustan was under the dark night of alien rule. Consequently, internal peace and security prevailed during the long Ganga rule. Besides, the Ganga Age is marked by great material prosperity. Its stupendous and magnificent art and architecture bear testimony to it. The maritime activity and oversea trade guaranteed a sound economy to the people. Kalinga continued to export her iron products : silver, gold and diamond ornaments, fine cloth, stone and wooden engravings, copper and brass articles to outside. Foreign travellers to India during this age observed the export of the said products in shiploads from the ports of Kalinga.[1] On the southeren side of the Jagamohana of the Konarka temple, there is a panel in which the king sitting on an elephant receives an ovation from a group of well-dressed people. In it a long-necked giraffe, an animal indigeneous to East

Africa, is included. It could not have been brought to Orissa except by a seaworthy vessel or to Konarka if it were not also a marime harbour. All these facts prove the intimate intercourse of Orissa's maritime merchants with the regions all around the Indian ocean. A flourishing trade was one of the main-springs of the Ganga prosperity. Lastly most of the Ganga kings are credited with as patrons of learning and art. They spent their revenue on four heads and one of it was patronage to scholars and religious endowments.[2] In a nutshell, the protracted peace, economic prosperity and state patronisation of art and letters gave an impetus to the creative and intellectual spirit of the people and thus created a congenial soil for cultural progress.

Oriya Literature

It was during the Ganga Age that the Oriya language took its concrete and enriched shape. Since a long past the language was in the process of evolution. From names of places and persons as well as occupations, it is quite clear that a kind of proto-Oriya, as it was developing in Orissa from the Magadhi dialect of Prakrit and Apabramsa, which came to Orissa by way of Eastern Bihar and Western Bengal, was getting to be established in the land. This proto-Oriya, as a special development in Orissa, coincided, one might say, with the late Magadhi Apabhramsa period and continued right down to about the end of the first millennium A. D.[3]

The Gangas have left us a number of inscriptions. Some of them give us a fairly good idea of the development of Oriya language during their rule. Inscriptions of Anangabhima Deva III of 1226 A.D. and 1237A.D. can be taken to be in Oriya. But barring a few words with Oriya terminations, these inscriptions are in a kind of loose Sanskrit, and no proper lines of continuous Oriya are seen.[4] The oldest contemporary documents of the fully formed Oriya language go back to the second half of the 13th century, beginning with the Bhanu-deva's (1263-1269) inscription found in the Lakshmi Narasimha Temple at Simhachalam but the language there is halting and not yet fully developed. The most important early document of Old Oriya preserved in a contemporary inscription, where the language is already quite advanced, is in the bi-lingual (Tamil-Oriya) inscription of king Narasimha Deva IV, and this goes back towards the end of the 14th century A.D.[5] Here we have an entire inscription of 34 lines in Oriya. The language is genuine Oriya, which is already quite a developed speech, and undoubtedly takes its stand on some centuries of Oriya linguistic history. The inscription of Narasimha Deva IV is also valuable from social as well as religious points of view, but in its language it can be looked upon as our earliest continuous con.emporary document in Oriya.

Another fairly old specimen of Oriya has been preserved in much later document known as *Madala Panji*. This is the famous speech put in the moutn of king Ananga-Bhima Deva III (1211-1238) before his princes and his officers. The internal evidence, the truth and genuineness of the sentiments expressed, and the atmosphere of the mind of a conqueror, a ruler devoted to his God and possessing high ideals of service to his people, as well as the personality of an administrator and a builder would certainly suggest that is was Anantavarman Chodagangadeva's. It may be booked uyon as a piece of Oriya composition or a record of a speech of the 1st half of the 12th century, although preserved in a much later document. The use of Oriya for state purposes, particularly in addressing the people, as early as the 12th century, is quite interesting, and it unconsciously carries on the tradition of Asoka and Kharavela.

There is something very natural and personsl about this which seems to assure its being substantially what the King Anantavarman Chodagangadeva as a soldier and a conqueror might himself have said. This would appear to be a piece of genuine historical document comparable with the inscription of the time of Narasimhadeva IV mentioned above. These two passages in old Oriya form two of the oldest specimens of prose in any modern New Indo-Aryan language. The style in the passage from the *Madala Panji* is terse and vigorous, although a little rambling at places, but there is considerable economy and reticence, like what we do not find in later literature. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji remarks: "Ananta-varman Coda-ganga Deva's speech, as I take this to be, is not an inscription on stone or copper. But because of its personal atmosphere, it reminds one of some great inscription of a similar intimate and personal character. These great jnscriptions of course are very wide and far-reaching in scope, and form a part of world literature, like the inscriptions of the Achaemenian emperor Darius, the inscriptions of Ashoka, the Orkhon inscriptions of the Turkish hero-king Kul-tegin of the early 8th century, and the 13th century inscription of the Thai King of Siam, Rama Gamhaeng; and nearer home one can also mention the inscription of Kharavela."[6]

It would be seen from the above specimens of the Oriya language that it received its modern shape during the Ganga period. This Old

Oriya should not be looked upon as a speech very much removed from Bengali and Assamese. It has remained almost unchanged through these centuries—from the middle of the 12th right down to the 20th This is a very remarkable thing about Oriya among all the New Indo-Aryan languages, except, perhaps, to some exfent, in the case of Sindhi.

Some literary works were 'produced during the Ganga period. The oldest books in Oriya, the *Sisu.veda* and the *Saptanga*, were written in this period. They were works dealing with the Natha Cult of late Mahayana B.ddhism impregnated with Siva-worship and Yoga pratcices and philososhy. In their present language (if not in spirit) they do not to back to a period beyond the 12th century. *Kalasa Chauthisha* by Bachha Das is the most remrakable and interesting example of the Ganga literature. It comprises verses and describes the circumstances leading to the marriage between Siva and Gouri. It became one of the most popular books of the Oriyas. The *Rudra.Sudha-nidhi* of Avadhuta Narayan Swami, which is a prose work of both religious and romantic character, has been referred to the 13th century by most Oriya scholars.[7] Soon after the Ganga Age we find the best luminaries of the Oriya literature crowding upon the pages of Orissa history. No work of real merit is traceable before the 15th century when the great Oriya version of the *Mahabharata* was written by Sarala Das, a semi-literate peasant.

Sanakrit Learning

The contribution of Ganga Age to Sanskrit literature is considerable. It produced some really great and creative writers. This coupled with the patronage of the Ganga kings gave an impetus to the Sanskrit learning. Some literature was produced in the various branches of learning.

A number of dramas were produced during this period. Viswanath Kaviraj, the famous author of *Sahitya Darpana*, wrote several plays. Of them, the most important were *Chandrakala* and *Prabhabati*. His father Chandrasekhar wrote also a *natika* entitled *Puspamala*. Some fine poetical works were composed during this period. Of these, Jayadeva's *Gita Govindam* deserves special mention. As regards the association of this renowned poet with Orissa, we are comparatively on more definite grounds. The Sanskrit *Bhaktamala* of Chandra Dutta definitely ascribes the nativity of Jayadeva to a village Kenduvilva identifiable with modern

Kenduli in Puri district in Orissa. Outside of the *Gita* and the *Meghaduta*, Jayadeva's *Gita-Govindam* is a classic of Sanskrit which has the largest number of commentaries by scholars from different parts of India. *Gita Govindam* written in the 12th century is a series of dramatic lyrics intended for singing and describes the love of Krishna for Radha and the milkmaids. The poem is still sung among the Vaishnavas of Orissa and Bengal.

Krishnananda, a court poet of Narasinghadeva IV of the 14th century, is the author of *Sahrudayananda* depicting the story of Nala. He is skilful in depicting human characters and natural sceneries in an elegant style. Viswanath Kaviraj has written several epics such as *Raghava Vilasa*, *Narasingha Vijaya* and *Kuvalayasva Charita*, the first two in Sanskrit and the last one in Prakrit. He is a master of elegant style and is adept in delineating various sentiments.

Ganga period in Orissa has given to India some very popular and unique works of literary criticism. Vidyadhar wrote his admirable work *Ekavali* in the middle of the 14th century A. D. In this *Alankar Sahitya*, Vidhyadhar examines the nature and divisions of literature in 8 chapters. The most outstanding feature of the work is that the verses cited as illustrations eulogise the achievements of Narasimhadeva II of the Imperial Ganga dynasty of Orissa. Another notable work on literary criticism, written in the last part of the 14th century, is *Sahitya Darpan* by Viswanath Kaviraj. It deals with the various feaures of literature including drama in its 10 chapters. Commentary written on this work by his son, Ananta Das, is perhaps most popular of all Sanskrit works on poetics and has been translated not only into English hut also into Hindi and Bengali.[8] The Sanskrit literature of the Ganga period is fairly rich in Smrti works. The most notable Smrti writers were Satananda Acharya, the author of *Satananda Ratnamala*, Nilamber Acharya, the author of the famous *Aryasaptasati*, Samkhadhara, the author of *Smrti Samuchcharya* Sambhukara Vajapeyi, the author of *Sradhapadhati* and *Vivshhapaddhati*, Vidyakara Vajapeyi, the author of *Kramadipika* and *Nityacharapaddhati*, Brhaspati Suri, the author of *Krtya Kaumudi*. The most reputed writer of *Dharmariastra* of the Ganga period is Jagannatha Vajapeyi, the author of *Agnisuoma Paddhati*. He is worthy son of the great *Smrtikara*, Vidyakara Vajapeyi.[9]

The achievement of the Ganga period in the field of astronomy and mathematics is praise-worthy. Two famous astromers of this period are Satananda, the author of *Bhasavati* and Srinivasa Acharya, the author of *Srinivasa Dipika.* Bhasvati was once accepted as an authority on *Jyotish* and had several commentaries written by scholars of different parts of India. *Srinivasa Dipika* was the most popular and is still regarded as a standard work in Orissa. Like *Jyotisha, Ganita* was cultivated during this period. *Bijaganita* (1150 A. D) and *Lilavati* (1050) by the celebrated mathematician Bhaskaracharya II, were regarded as the standard works on this subject in Orissa as in other parts of India. Besides this, Bhaskaracharya II also wrote a few other works like *Karanakutukala* (1150) and *Siddhanta Siromani* (1150). In this connection the remarks of the authors of the *History of Hindu Mathematics* may aptly be quoted here : "It is certain, however, that after the 12th century very little original work was done in India. Commentaries on older works were written and some new works brought out, but none of these had sufficient merit as regards exposition or subject matter, so as to displace the works of Bhaskara II, which have held undisputed sway for nine centuries as standard text books."

The celebrated Vaisnava scholar, Sridhara Swami, flourished in the 14th century. He wrote a commentary on the *Bhagavata Purana,* the *Bhagavata Bhavarthi Dipika,* which is regarded the most authoritative and is by far the most famous exposition of the work.

Thus Ganga Age in Orissa had a number of scholars who were great in various subjects in Sanskrit. The valuable compositions they produced add to the glory of Madieval Sanskrit literature of India, while considerably adding to its output.

Jagannatha Cult

Throughout the greater part of Hindu India, Orissa means Puri and Puri means the shrine of Jagannatha, of Vishnu as the Lord of the world. The cult of Jagannatha has become interwoven into the religious life of Hindu India.

Before the commencement of the Ganga period, Saivism, Saktism, and Vaisnavism were the three main cults which existed side by side in Orissa. Each preached its own superiority, but at no time either in theory or practice, losing its separate entity. In the Ganga period, there were attempts to amalgamate them into one form of religion that contained the principles of each, but yet exclusively represented none. The movement aimed at a synthesis of cults and sects by adopting principles not merely from the different cults of Hinduism, but from Buddhism, Jainism and from the primitive cults that were practised by the primitive people of Orissa. The cult of Jagannatha embodies all these diverse elements and affords the best example of the synthesis. During the Ganga period, the final shape of the Jagannatha Cult embodying the principles and ideas of various sects had been reached and thereby of its Vaisnava origin emphasized and given wide publicity.[13]

The reign of Chodagangadeva is remarkable for the striking development of Vaisnavism in Orissa. Chodagangadeva was not only a devout Vaisnava but also a great patron of Vaisnavism. He styled himself Parama Vaisnava. Ramanuja, the celebrated Vaisnava saint, is said to have visited Puri during his reign. It was about this time that Jagannatha definitely came to be regarded as the veritable incarnation of Vishnu. The famous **T**emple at Puri, built for Jagannatha, by Chodagangadeva came to be regarded as an abode of Vaisnavism.[14]

The erection of the Temple of Jagannatha, a massive and magnificents monument, went a long way in the spread of the Cult of Jagannatha among the people of Orissa. According to *Madalapanji*, Anangabhimadeva, a great devotee of Vishnu, established the temple administration in a very systematic way He prescribed for the first time 36 types of the duties for the Sevakas known as the Chhatisaniyoga. He had also the credit of creating Panda system. The main functions of the Pandas were to preach religion among the people and to attract pilgrims to the Srikshetra.[15] The financial position of the temple improved through this organisation. Besides, the successful resistance of the three generations of Ganga emperors protected the cult of Jagannatha from the Muslim invasions from being extinct. Thus, the Jagannatha cult so successfully championed by the Ganga rulers of Orissa, was the mass religion of Orissa. It is, no doubt, one of the great gifts of the Oriya people to medieval and modern Hinduism.

Art and Architecture

The Ganga Age forms a glorious epoch in the history of Orissa's art and architecture. Perhaps few evidences of its creative impulse and energy are more significant than her artistic remains. Nearly all the artistic remains of the Ganga period are of a religious nature, or were at least made for religious purposes. Secular art certainly existed in the form of palaces and forts but all these have vanished. Bhubaneswar, Puri and Konarka were the centres of artistic activities during the Ganga rule.

The *Sapta-ratha* plan is recognised to be a characteristic feature of all the notable temples of this period at Bhubaneswar. They were Magheswar, Bhaskareswara, Ananta-Vasudeva, Yameswara, Mitreswara, Varuneswara, Chitreswara and Sari Deul. The carvings and sculptures of these temples show the sign of decadence. They are chcracterised by an over-ornamentation and lack of originality. Of these, Ananta Vasudeva deserves special mention. Architecturally, it is almost a reduced copy of the Lingaraja. Sculpturally, it is noted for its profusely-carved exterior and finished appearance.

The famous temple of Jagannatha at Puri, is like the Lingaraja, large and massive. It consists of the four usual elements, namely *Vimana*, *Jagamohana*, *Natamandira*, and *Bhogamandapa*. It is the finest expression of the *Pancharatha* style. It ranks as a brilliant creation among the temples of the typical Orissan group.

The exterior of the *Vimana* and *Jagamohana* of this temple has been thickly plastered so that the original outline and carvings are totally obliterated from the view. This became necessary when the original stone masonry decayed owing probably to centuries of action by the sea. The Jagannatha Temple was known to the late 17th century European navigators in the Bay of Bengal as White Pagoda due to white wash put on it.

The celebrated Sun Temple at Konarka known as the Black Pagoda from its darkish colour seen from a distance was built during the reign of Narasimha I (1238-1264). It represents the peak of Orissan temple building activity. It is the largest and most remarkable of all the temples in Orissa. The late Sir John Marshall, the great Director of Archeological Survey of India, remarked : "There is no monument of Hinduism, I think, that is at once so stupendous and so perfectly proportioned as the Black Pagoda, and none which leaves so deep an impression on the memory."[16]

The structure as a whole is conceived of as a chariot (*ratha*) on 24 wheels with the Sun god riding on it. On the raised platform thus created, the temple was constructed with two conjoined parts, the *deul* and the *Jagamohana*. The *natamandira* and *bhogamandira* were detached structures. Charles Fabri says : "The plan is grandiose, and the surviving parts of the temple are among the world's most impressive, most moving monuments."[17] The Konarka is a most wonderful piece of Orissan sculpture at its highest. Sir John Marshall had declared that Konarka, because of the wealth of its sculptures, forms one of the six musts for visitors to India, the other five being Sanchi, Ajanta, Ellora, Khajuraho and the Taj. Herein we have one of the greatest contributions from Orissa for the glorification of India and for the appreciation of humanity at large. The figures of the celestial musician girls, the *Mithuna* couples on the top of the temple, the large, almost life-size elephants on the walls of the immense base strcture, and the huge and spirited caparisoned steeds that drag the twelve wheeled chariot forward are among the finest works ever produced in the history of Indian art. The exceptionally vivid erotic figures of the Konarka temple were carved, in all probability, under the influence of Tantricism and its *maithuna* ritual.

Dance and Music

Music and dance formed a vital part of the Ganga culture. With the advent of the Ganga rule in Orissa in the early part of the 12th century A. D., a greater emphasis appears to have been put on the performance of music and dance in religious shrines To this period the evolution of the three chambered porch in a temple complex is to be traced, of which one chamber was particularly set apart for dancers and musicians and was known as *Natamandapa* [18].

Chodagangadeva is credited to have first introduced *Devadasi* dancing in the temple of Lord Jagannatha. The *Devadasis* are called *Mahrirs* which literally means, according to some, one who is deeply in love with the Lord. Chodagangadeva established seven streets (*Sahis*) for the servants (*Sebayat*) of the Lord and one of these steets known by the name of Anga Alasa Patna was intended for the *Mahrirs* alone. Dancing has remained a very important and indispensible item in the daily rituals (*Seva*) of Lord Jagannatha since the time of Ganga rulers of Utkal.[19]

The *devadasis* became the real exponents of the Odissi dance, patronized by the Ganga monarchs and with inspiration from the great saint-poets like Jayadev. From the role which the renowned Jayadev played in the religious life of Puri, the music and dance received such an emotional impetus that in course of time Jayadev's *Gita Govindam* was made an essential and permanent part of the temple music. The perfection of the dance style had been attained by the time Narasimha Dev constructed the Sun Temple of Konarka by the middle of the 13th century. On the surface of the Temple and on the body of its *Natamandapa*, in countless relief carvings, the sculptures depicted the entire dance art of Orissa in different poses and styles, by life-size statues of dancers and musicians. The hundreds of Konarka dancing-girls in stone have preserved the Odissi dance in its refined and lively form. The code of rules, as well as the dancing poses in illustrated forms have been preserved in the body of the old palm leaf manuscripts of Orissa.[20]

Conclusion

Thus, the culture of Orissa was greatly enriched during the Ganga Age. It was this age which laid the solid foundation of the intellectual and cultural life of future Oriya nation. There was a remarkable development in every branch of the aesthetic creation. The cult of Jagannatha reached its perfection. The Ganga period, perhaps, marks the high watermark of the culture of ancient and medieval Orissa. It has a great contribution to the sum-total of medieval culture for the whole of India.

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DEVELOPMENT OF CANAL IRRIGATION IN ORISSA

P. Padhi

Agricultural production is one of the most important and vitally necessary branches of the national economy of India and so also of Orissa. It provides about 65% of income of Orissa. Hence, a flourishing, diversified and highly productive agriculture is an imperative condition for the building up of the State's economy. The process of production in agriculture is to a much larger extent conditioned by natural factors. The influence of unfavourable climatic factors particularly droughts and floods strongly affect the development of agricultural production. Irrigation provides the solution to these unfavourable climatic conditions. Hence, irrigation plays an important role in the process of development of agriculture.

Irrigation is of two types viz., (1) lift irrigation which consists of tank, well and tube-well irrigation, (2) flow irrigation which consists of irrigation through rivers and canals etc. The history of canal irrigation in Orissa can be traced back to 1865-66, the year in which the most serious famine of the century was caused in Orissa by the failure of rains which is commonly known as *Na Anka Durbhikhya*. This famine was so intense and devastating in character that it forced the Government to make provision for artificial irrigation to prevent frequent crop failures in Orissa.

"Colonel Cotton was the first to suggest the construction of an elaborate system of canals as the only remedy against the droughts & floods to which the district of Cuttack was subject. The Madras Irrigation and Canal company in 1858 agreed to put Colonel Cotton's project into execution, provided the Government guaranteed interest on the capital. This however, fell through, and it was not till 1862, when the necessity of protecting the country from famine and flood became imperative that Government entered into a contract with a new company, known as the East India Irrigation Company'.[1] However, the company failed to execute the project and it was taken over by the Government in the year

1868. In that year the project was commenced " at an estimated cost of Rs. 3,23,15,845 including Rs. 2,94,089 for loss by exchange, and the construction estimates was closed on the 31st March, 1895. Two estimates aggregating Rs.61,858 were sanctioned by the Bengal Government in 1893 and 1895 and the total expenditure to the end of 1895-96, against the old and current sanctions, amounted to Rs. 2,62,21,846 including a sum of Rs. 2,68,070 for loss by exchange; the expenditure of a lakh-and-a- half in the next two years raised the total to Rs.2,63,73,151. As the result of this outlay, the province of Orissa has been provided with"[2] the first net work of irrigation system most part of which was situated in the district of Cuttack. Due to the execution of the project Orissa got "$204\frac{3}{4}$ miles of canals, which are navigable in addition to carrying water for irrigation;

Table 1

Average acreage under irrigation in British India from Government works during the quinquennial ending 1921-22 and 1941-42.

(in '000 acres)

Province	Average area under irrigation during the quin. ending 1921-22	Average area under irrigation during the quin. ending 1941-42	Increase (+) Decrease (−)
Bengal	109	204	+ 95
Bihar	672	700	+ 28
Bombay	381	494	+ 113
Central Provinces and Berar	310	458	+ 148
Madras	6945	7464	+ 519
N.W.F. Provinces	360	492	+ 132
Orissa	681	645	− 36
Punjab	9119	12533	+ 2,834
Sind	3161	5010	+ 1,849
Uniten Previnces	3293	5418	+ 2,125
Total	25,631	33,438	+ 7,807

Note :—The area shown twice a year under irrigation is counted twice.

Source :—*The Famine Inquiry Commission, Final Report,* pp. 129-130.

there are also 75 miles of canal for irrigation only. The maximum discharge of the canals in 1895-96 was 6058 cubic feet per second and the area shown as commanded is 56,20,000 acres."[3]

During the British period, Orissa was neglected in respect of provision of irrigation facilities by the Government. In British India, Orissa was the only province where the average acreage under irrigation from Government works declined during the period from 1921-22 to 1941-42 whereas in other provinces the same was increased as shown in Table-I. This indicates of Government negligence in this respect which the state suffered under the British rule.

It will be noticed that of the total increase of 7.8 million acres under irrigation, 6.8 millions lie in the three provinces of the Punjab, Sind and the U. P.; that the increase in the provinces of Bombay, Bihar, C. P. and Berar and the N. W. F. provinces is small; and finally that the irrigated area in Orissa has contracted slightly.[4]

Table 2

Areas in acres irrigated from different sources during the year 1949-50.

District	Govt. canals	Pvt. Canals	Tanks	Wells	Other sourcss	Total
Cuttack	217000	19000	43500	3000	38000	320500
Balasore	26570	930	1040	1318	562	30420
Puri	10000 (Chanals)	5000 (Chanals)	52787	2832	148190	218809
Sambalpur	—	—	241545	26824	36897	305266
Ganjam	113469	23374	127495	2312	57474	324124
Koraput	—	14475	11413	1082	446396	473366
Total	367039	62779	477780	38358	727518	1672485

Source :—Season and Crop report (old districts of Orissa) for the year 1949-50. Appendix-IV P. 8.

The total irrigated area from different sources in Orissa in the year 1949-50 was 16,72,485 acres. All those irrigated areas were unevenly distributed among different old districts of Orissa. However, the district of Cuttack enjoyed the major benefits from Governmental canals. Table-2 gives the distribution of irrigated lands under different sources among the old districts of Orissa during the year 1949-50.

The table shows that upto 1949-50, the old districts of Sambalpur and Koraput enjoyed no irrigation facility from Government canals, but the total irrigated area in the district of Koraput was the highest among all the old districts in the province of Orissa. This shows the importance of private irrigation works in the district. The private irrigation works also play an important role in all the old districts of Orissa which still retain their importance in the present state of Orissa.

The net work of canals in Orissa is of two types such as non-perennial and inundation. "Upto 1954, when the State was affected by drought, canals of the non-perennial type drawing supply of water during specified periods existed over a length of 199¼ miles both for navigation and irrigation and a length of 75 miles for irrigation only. The total length of distributaries is 1302 miles 3059 feet. The total area irrigated both under Khariff and Rabi is 2,03,768 acres. Inundation canals getting supply only when the parent stream has enough water during rains, exist over a length of 93 miles of irrigation canals and 230 miles of distributaries commanding an irrigated area of 1,17,290 acres".[5]

After the achievement of independence and launching of Plan Programmes, constant efforts are being made to extend the facility of irrigation in Orissa. "Orissa has a total cultivable area of 81,17,000 hectares, out of which the net cultivated area is 75,76,000 hectares, amounting to 98.4% of the former. The State is rich in water resources due to a net work of large and small rivers flowing through the terrain and the total irrigation potential in the state has been assessed to be 53,07,920 hectares under major and medium irrigation. This amounts to 84% of the total irrigation potential of the State i. e., 63,48,312 hectares, and, thus, reveals great potential for further development of flow water resources in the State."[6] Table-3 shows the growth of irrigation in different plan periods by major and medium irrigation projects.

Table 3

Growth of Irrigation in different plan periods by major and medium irrigation projects.

(Area in '000 hectares)

Sl. No.	Particulars of Plan Period	Irrigation Petantial created	
		Khariff	Rabi
1.	Pre-plan period	156.209	55.576
2.	1st Plan	156.209	55.576
3.	2nd Plan	242.002	124.643
4.	3rd Plan	310.997	182.950
5.	Three annual plans (1966-67 to 1968-69)	480.726	222.176
6.	4th Plan (expected)	640.404	308.620

* All figures cumulative

Source :—Fifth Five-Year Plan of Orissa (Draft) P. 297

From Table-3 it is revealed that though constant efforts are being made to increase the irrigation facility in the state, yet in view of the vast irrigation potential of the State, much has been left to be achieved. In comparison to the other States of India, the achievements made in Orissa is negligible in this respect also as is seen in Table-4.

Table 4

Net area cultivated and irrigated, State-wise, 1967-68.

State	Net area cultivated (in '000 hectares)	Net area irrigated (in '000 hectares)	Col. 3 as % of Col. 2
1	2	3	4
Andhra Pradesh	11,367	3,089	27.2
Assam*	2,393	612‡	—
Bihar	8,284	2,011	24.3
Gujrat	9,802	1,108	11.3

Table 4—(*contd.*)

1	2	3	4
Haryana	3,514	1,132	32.2
Kerala	2,129	411	19.3
J & K	675	278	41.2
M P.	17,797	1,143	6.4
Maharastra	18,267	1,476	8.1
Mysore	9,987	1,082	10.8
Orissa	5,939	977£	16.4
Punjab	3,992	2,333	58.4
Rajasthan	15,097	1,865	12.4
Tamil Nadu	6,083	2,629	43.2
U. P.	17,467	5,657	32.4
West Bengal†	5,569	1,478	26.5
Himachal Pradesh	547	90	16.4
Nagaland	47	12£	—
Others	696	140	20.1
All India	139,702	27,523	19.7

* Includes Meghalaya, ‡ Relates to 1953-54

£ Relates to 1955-56, † Relates to 1964-65

Source .—Report of the Irrigation Commission, 1972, Vol. I, Page-82.

Table-4 reveals the relative irrigation position of the States of the Indian Union. The figures for the net irrigated area as percentage to net cropped area in 1967-68 in Orissa was 16.4. When we compare this with those of other States of India, we find that the position of Orissa was deplorable. It even stands below the all India average of net irrigated area of 1967-68 which was 19.7.

The irrigation facility that is available in Orissa is unevenly distributed among the districts of the State. This is revealed in Table-5 given below :—

Table 5

Gross irrigated area as % to gross cropped area, 1968-69.

District	Cross cropped area (in '000 acres)	Gross irrigated area (in '000 acres)	Col. 3 as % to Col. 2
1	2	3	4
Balasore	1288.15	131.00	10.2
Bolangir	1463.52	274.00	18.7
Cuttack	2536.52	1060.00	41.8
Dhenkana	1220.72	131.00	10.7
Ganjam	1605.85	409.00	25.5
Kalahandi	1155.96	59.00	5.1
Keonjhar	820.88	36.00	4.4
Koraput	2488.82	89.00	3.6
Mayurbhanj	1214.77	88.00	7.2
Phulbani	655.93	85.00	12.1
Puri	1634.50	369.00	22.6
Sambalpur	2030.12	492.00	24.2
Sundargarh	818.43	45.00	5.5
State	18,934.13	3268.00	

Source :—Indicators of Economic development for Orissa, 1968-69, Appendix-5 page-19.

From Table-5 it is seen that the percentage cf gross irrigated area to gross cropped area of 8 districts namely Balasore, Dhenkanal, Kalahandi, Keonjhar, Koraput, Mayurbhanj, Phulbani and Sundargarh stood below the State average. Among all the districts, Cuttack enjoyed more facility of irrigation and the percentage of gross irrigated area to gross cropped area was 41. 8.

To improve agriculture of the State, the most imperative need is to increase the irrigation facility in the fields. In view of the niggardliness of the meteorological condition in Orissa, irrigation assumes greater importance for the economic development of the State. So far the State couldnot utilise the full potential of irrigation facility available in Orissa. Hence, efforts should be made more vigorously to increase the same and thereby to increase the level of living of the millions of rural poor who depend on agriculture for their livelihood.

NOTES

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JAGANNĀTHA AT THE TIME OF JAYADEVA

Gopinath Mohapatra

Jagannātha, the paramount deity of Orissa, was long ago known as Nīlamādhava and afterwards Puruṣottama. Then he was conceived as Kṛṣṇa much before the 8th contury when the Utkal Khaṇḍa of Skanda Purāṇa was composed. That was the period when the Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇ-worship was in vogue in Orissa. However,, Jayadeva during the 12th century composed his famous work *Gītagovindaṃ* on Lord Jagannātha presuming the Lord to be Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa though not for the first time. This work is unique in its musical presentation of different Rāgas and Rāgiṇīs in propagating the Vaiṣṇavism through the cult of Lord Jagannātha. As a matter of fact the single work *Gītagovindaṃ* has made the name of Jayadeva so unchallengably popular proving it self an outstanding piece.

It was a tradition in ancient India that the writers first offer a prayer before they compose a Kāvya, Play of anything for its smooth completion. Mostly in every Play, therefore, we see the verse Nāndi[1] in the beginning. In Kavyas also the writers offer homage through benedictions [2] By going through those benedictions we are able to know if the writer is a Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Śākta or anything. For example, we could know Kālidās to be a Śaiva, Māgha to be a Vaiṣṇava, Murāri to be a devotes to Rāmacandra and so on, when we examine their works. So also our Jayadeva was a devotee to Rādhā-Mādhava since he devoted himself to depict the pious love of Rādhā and Mādhava.[3]

Now the point is, whether the great poet devotes to Mādhava in general or Kṛṣṇa in particular. Mā means "Lakṣmī" and 'Dhava' means "husband". Therefore, Mādhava means Viṣṇu in general as he is the husband of Lakṣmī. But Śrīkṛṣṇa does not have a wife named Lakṣmī. So he is not to be qualified to be called as Mādhava. In spite of that he is called Mādhava when his names are usually pronounced with Rādhā and not with Ṛkmiṇī and Satyabhāma. Therefore, Rādhā has been taken to be and incarnation of Lakṣmī although not Lakṣmī in original. It is because, when Śrīkṛṣṇa is called Mādhava, Rādhā is not called Lakṣmī and both instead of being kalled as Lakṣmī Mādhava are called Rādhā-Mādhava.

Śri Jagannātha Dās wrote his Oriya Bhāgabata and himself recited it every-day under the Kalpa-Vaṭa in the compound of Jagannātha Temple at Purī in the 16th Century. The play *Anargharāghavaṃ* and *Prabodha Candrodayaṃ* written by two well-known authrs like Murāri Mishra and Kṛṣṇa Mishra of Orissa were successfully enacted in Puruṣottama Kṣetra.[4] There are also evidences that the works of different scholars have been examined in Puruṣsttama Kṣetra in order to glorify ,them for their achievement. It is bacause there was no facility of printing press and publication. Therefore, the authors were looking for the time af a festival of Jrgannātha when a large number of pilgrims visit Purī. That was actually the time when the authors found opportunities to recite their verses or stage their plays before a large audience.

As like other poets of Orissa Śrī Jayadeva after the completion of his work Śrī Gitagovindaṃ, was reciting the piece with unchallanged melody in front of Lord Jagannātha since it was composed for the Lord. As a result, the work received great reputation throughout the country and became an item in the daily worship of the lord which was stopped by Puruṣottama Deva on the introduction of Abhinava Gīta Govindaṃ ascribed to hin. However, our poet's work Gītagovindaṃ resumed its former position in the region of Pratāparudradeva.

Jagannāthacult is basically a development of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa worship which was very popular in Orissa long ago.[5] That was the time of Jayadeva when the Vaiṣṇava Ganga Kings were ruling over Orissa and Jagannātha was accepted as Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa and his Śakti to be conceived as Lakṣmī Rādhā. But the trouble was that although Rādhā in different texts[6] was known as Lakṣmī Svarūpā, nowhere Lakṣmī was conceived to be Radhā. Again in the devlopment of Rādhā concept some attribute to the star 'Anurādhā' where as some connect it to the chief cowherd women of Bṛndāvana and finnally some scholars perceive it as Rādhābhāva which develops throuh 'Ārādhanā or devotion with love. Further different authors conceive Rādhā to be different from Lskṣmī when they depict Lakṣmī to be envious of the love of Mādhava for Rādhā.[7] Under these circumstances Jayadeva as a worshipper of Rādhā-Mādhava alluded Rādhā to Lakṣmī with a conviction to perceive both the Śaktits to be one and the same spirit.

We know from Bhaktamālā of Candra Datta[8] that Jayadeva as a devotee to Lord Jagannātha attracts the Lord to his side. The other

Bhaktamālās[9] written by different authors also support the devotion of Jayadeva to Lord Jagannātha. Long before Jayadeva, Jagannātha was also known as Kṛṣṇa by Vaiṣṇavas,[10] The Vaiṣṇavite Purāṇas also support this concept. Although Lakṣmī had supremacy in the temple of Jagannātha, no ancient purāṇas like Skanda, etc. depicts Jagannātha, Kṛṣṇa with Rādhā. Nowhere in the same Purāṇas Jagannātha was called Rādhākānta but at many places he was adcressed as Śrīśa[11] or Kamalākānta When Jayadeva made the Rādhākṛṣṇa concept popular, later on in the 16th century the Vaiṣṇavas perceived Rādhā in the image of Jagannatha when they said :— 'Jagannāth Śarīreṇa Rādhā tṣṭhti Sarvadā or Rasānandī Rādhā sarasavapurālingana sukhī'.[12] Jagannātha and Rādhā both are present in the image of Jagannātha facing to each other.[13] The seed of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa concept sowed by Jayadeva in the 12th century blossomed in the 16th century. There in the premises of the Jagannātha temple Kamalākānta-Kṛṣṇa-Jagannātha successfully become Rādhākānta-Śrīkṛṣṇa.

But the first attempt in this regard was made by Jayadeva when he said in Gītagovindaṃ that "Rādhā-Mādhavayor Jayanti Yamuākūle rahaḥ kelaya" and "Śrita kamalā kucamaṇḍala.'[14] He assimilated the two characters Rādhā and Lakṣmī and in many places of his work he made intentional efforts to do so. Some times he used some peculiar key epithet which qualifies to Jagannāth Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā and also to Lakṣmī. These are some peculiar uses we notice in his work Gītagovindaṃ. For instance the line "Padmāvatī caraṇa cārana cakravartī" : here it can be referred to Jayadeva as the master of dance accompanied by Padmāvatī, his wife, or it can be understood as Jayadeva, the foremost devotee of Padmāvatī-Rādhā, the incarnation of Lakṣmī holding a lotus or as Jayadeva standing as the great devotee to Rādhā. In another song we see the line "Jaya Jaya Deva Hare."[15] Here when he says 'victory to Lord Hari' another sense (Dhvani) comes "victory to both Jayadeva and Hari." In the former instance, it can also mean Śrīkṛṣṇa (Viṣṇu) who is the master and controller of Lakṣmī's movement. However, sometimes the meanings simultaneously refer to Jayadeva, Kṛṣṇa, Lakṣmī, Rādhā and Padmāvatī, the wife of the poet. Therefore in the later age the followers Jayadeva assumed him to be the incarnation of Jagadīśa-Kṛṣṇ and Padmāvatī to be Lakṣmī or Rādhā. May be the pious love depicted in Gītagovindaṃ reflects his own practical experience and the poet with a little egoistc attitude would not have hesitated to dream so.[16]

Although the poet was a devotee to Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, he has not overlooked Lakṣmī in his Gītagovindaṃ. Very often he used to apply the word Padmāvatī.[17] He also mentioned Kamalā, Śrī, Padmā, Ramā the possible epithets of Lakṣmī in his masterpiece. As his Rādhā is part and parcel of Padmāvatī, his Jagadīśa-Kṛṣṇa is not only Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, but the Paraṃ Brahma Viṣṇu Jagadīśa who assumed the ten Avatāras.[18] It is the same Kṛṣṇa who is none but Sītāpati Rāmacandra and Lakṣmīpati Viṣṇu in general.[19]

As per our tradition Dvāpara age follows Tretā. The age Tretā was famous for Rāmcandra the killer of Rāvaṇa the ten headed demon chief of Laṅkā. Our literatures have depicted that Śrīkṛṣṇa as the incarnation of Viṣṇu appeared in the next age Dvāpara in order to kill Kaṃsa and Śiśupāla.[20] Therefore Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, both these incarnations of Viṣṇu, do not flourish at one time since their ages are different. Nowhere in Rāmāyaṇa Rāma was addressed as Kṛṣṇa or in Mahābhārata Kṛṣṇa was called Sītāpati Rāmacandra. But here the great poet finds no difference between Dāśarathi Rāma and Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa.

Therefore, it is evident that in *Gītagovindaṃ* Kṛṣṇa was generalised as Jagadīśa Paraṃbrahma who remains in Vaikuṇṭha and takes incarnations whenever the world needs him. He is Abatārī Kṛṣṇa of *Bhagavadgītā* who was converted to the form of Jagannātha or Jagadīśa in the age of Kali.[21] His Kṛṣṇa is the Kamalā-Kānta who sleeps on Śeṣa in the milk ocean in receiving the service of Lakṣmī. Like Mahālakṣmī of the Jagannātha Temple, Kamalā is depicted here as the daughter of the sea, 'Vāridhi Sutā', who came out of the time of churning of the ocean and accepted Viṣṇu as her husband.[22] His Kṛṣṇa is also the same as the Puruṣottama of Gītā and the Puruṣottama Kṣetra.[23]

At many places in the list of ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa was counted as an Avatāra.[24] Kṣemendra and Śrīharṣa also accepted Kṛṣṇa as Avatāra.[25] But Jayadeva did not place Kṛṣṇa in the list of ten Avatāras. To his mind he is Avatārī Jagadiśa. Jagannātha was also known as Jagadīśa since the time of *Skanda Purāṇa, Utkal Khaṇḍa,* much before Jayadeva. Therefore, it is natural that Jayadeva composed the Daśāvatara Stotra for the pleasure of Jagadīśa-Kṛṣṇa-Jagannātha. All the names like Hari, Keśava, Madhuripu, Madhusūdana, Murāri and Govinda used in *Gītagovindaṃ* for Kṛṣṇa[26] are also being addressed to Lord Jagannātha.[27] Jagannātha himself is also known as Nīlamādhava who was being worshipped with Lakṣmī in Nīlādri long before.[28] Before the arrival of Jayadeva the Mādhava cult was popular in Orissa. The images of Mādhava like Santoṣa Mādhava, Loka Mādhva, Colagaṅga Mādhava, Lupta Mādhava, Trivaṇi Mādhava, Prācī Mādhava, Mudgala Mādhava, Ādi Mādhava, Ananta Mādhava, Bhoga Mādhava, Caṃpaka Mādhava, Ramā Mādhava, Prasanna Mādhava, Puruṣottama Mādhava, Sudarśana Mādhava, Janārddana Mādhava, Narakāntaka Mādhava, Vāsudeva Mādhava, Govinda Mādhava, etc. we found in different parts of Orissa.[29] Most of these Mādhava images were worshipped withe Lakṣmī. Therefore, Nīlamādhava-Jagannātha of Purī carrying more importance attracted the mind of the poet to come over there as a foremost devotee to Mādhava. But as a Vaiṣṇava follower of Nimbārka. etc. he tried to assimilate Rādhā concept with that of Lakṣmī and generalised Kṛṣṇa as Mādhava-Jagadīśa.

NOTES

1. *Nāndi—Āśīrvacana saṃyuktā stutiryasmāt prayuñjate Deva-dvija-nṛpādīnāṃ tasmāt nāndiprakīrtitā.*

   Viśvanātha Kavirāja, *Sāhitya darpaṇa*, VI-Benaras, Cawkhamba-1973. For instances, please she the fifth verse of *Abhijnāna Śakuntalaṃ*, *Anargha Rāghavaṃ*, *Vikramorvaśīyaṃ*, *Mudrārākṣasaṃ*, and other plays.

2. Kālidās, *Raghuvaṃśaṃ*, 1/1, Chwkhamba, Varāṇasī, 1957.

   Bāgarthābibasampṛktau ..... pārvatī parameśvarau.

3. Jayadeva *Gītagovindaṃ*, 1/1, Rādhāramaṇa Pustakālaya, Cuttack, 1963. *Rādhā-mādhavayorjayanti yamunā-kūle rahaḥ kelayaḥ*

4. Murāri Miśra, *Anargharāghavaṃ*. Chwkhamba, Vārāṇasī, 1962, p. 4. Sūtradhāra—*Bho bho lavaṇodavelā banāli ......bhagavtaḥ*

   PRUSOTTAMASYA Yātrāyāmupasthānīyāḥ sbhāsadaḥ.

Please see also :

Kṛṣṇa Miśra *Prabodhacandrodayaṃ*—(M. S.) State Museum Orissa Bhubaneswar ("Prastāvanā").

5. K. N. Mohāpātra, *Śrī Jayadeva O Gītagovinda*, Self publication, 1973, Bhubaneswar-2, p. 149

   Dr. Gopināth Mohāpātra, *The Land of Viṣṇu*, D. K. Publishers, New Delhi, 1979, Chapter No. 1.

6. K. N. Mohāpatra, *Śrī Jayadeva*, Self, Bhubaneswar, 1973, p. 143. Quoted here : "Sangītacuḍāmaṇi", the Benediction.

Nımbārka, *Nimbāditya Daśaślokī*—(A work of the 12th century), Nirṇayasāgara Press, Bombay, 1964, pp. 21.

7. Rājaśekhara, Kāvyamimāṃsā—(M. S.), Self.
Te Rādhā smṛtisākṣiṇaḥ kamalayā sāsuyamākarṇıtā.
Govardhanācārya, *Āryāsaptasati* (A work of the 12th century), (M. S.), State Museum, Bhubaneswar, Sloka No. 511.

8. Kṣemarāja Kṛṣṇadās; Bhaktāmālā—Bombay, 1954, Canto. 39, 40, 41.

9. Priyādās, Bhaktamālā—Tejakumar Press, Lcknow, 1969, pp. 343 364
Śrī Kṛṣṇadās, *Bhaktamālā* (Bengali), Basumati Sāhitya Mandira, Calcutta, 1922, and also see : *Bhaktavijaya* Nīrnayasāgara Press, Bombay, 1968.

10. *Puruṣottama Māhātmyaṃ* : *Skanda Purāṇa*, "Gurumaṇḍala", 19/37. 40, 30/46, 92. 20/29. 59.
'Rāmaṃ Kṛṣṇaṃ Subhadrāṃ Ca Vāsudevaṃ Sudarśanaṃ'
Dr. G. Mohāpātra, *The Land of Viṣṇu*, D. K. Publisher, Delhi, 1979, Ch. 2,

11. P. M. Skanda Purāṇa, Bombay, Venkateśwara Press, 1966, : 9/6. 24/24. Tvāmṛte Kamalākanta......

12. Dibākara Vipra, *Jagannāthāmṛta Gītā* (M. S.) Orissa State Museum, Ch. 11, Ch. 20.

13. Jagannātha Caritāmṛta, Purī Oḍiyā Maṭha, pp. 66.

14. Jayadeva, *Gītagovindaṃ*, Cuttack R. Pustakālaya, 1953, 1/2/1. 1/1.

15. Ibid. 1/2.

16. Ibid. 1/2 (*Gita*). *'Jaya Jaya Deva Hare'*

16A. Ibid. 3/8. *'Kenduvilva samudrasaṃbhava rohiṇīramaṇena'*.
Ibid, 12/12. *Tat sarvaṃ Jayadeva Paṇḍita kave* ....
Ibid. 7/29. *kaliyugacaritaṃ navasatu duritaṃ kavinṛpa Jayadevake*

17. Ibid. 1/1-2, 11/21, 10/10, 1/2 *Gītā* (Padmāva.ī)
Ibid. *Gītā*. 2/1. *Ramayā mayā saha madanamanoratha*......
Ibid. 1/2/10. *Padmāpayodharataṭiparirambhalagnā.*
Ibid. *Gītu*. 2/7. *Śrīmukha-condra-cakora* ....
Ibid. 1/2. *Gita*. 1. *Śrītakomalākucamaṇḍala*......

18. Ibid. 1/1. Gītā. *Kṛṣṇāya tubhyaṃ namaḥ; Jaya Jagadīśa Hare.*

19. Ibid. 8th cants. "*Iti Śrī Gītagpvinde khaṇḍitā varṇane vailakṣa lakṣmīptināmo' stamasargaḥ.*

20. Māgha, *Śiśupālavadhaṃ*, Vārāṇasī, Chawkhamba, 1956. 1st canto.

21. Sāralādās, *Sāralā Mahābhārata*, M. S., Bhubaneswar, Orissa Museum "Vanaparva" and "Musaḷi Parva".

    Śrīmad Bhagavad Gītā". Gorakhpur. Gītāpress, 1244.

    '*Yadā Yadā hi dharmasya glānirbhavati Bhārata ... sṛjāmyahaṃ.*

    Jayadeva-Gītagovindaṃ, Cuttack, R. Pustakālaya, 1963. 1/1.

    '*Daśākṛtikṛte Kṛṣṇāya tubhyaṃ namaḥ*'—*Daśāvatārastotraṃ.*

22. Jayadeva, *Gītagovindaṃ*, 12/10-11.

    Paryaṇkīkṛtanāganāyakaphaṇā ...... kṣīrodanīrodare.

23. Śrīmad Bhagvad Gītā, Gorakhapur, Gītāpress, 1954. Canto 15.

    '*Yasmāt kṣara atīto' haṃ akṣarādapi cottamaḥ*'

    Navajīvana 11/11, Chakrdhara Mohapatra, *Gītagovinda O Jayadeva.*

    '*Prītyai Śrī Puruṣottamasya racitaṃ Śrī Gītagovindakaṃ*'.

24. *Barāha purāṇa*. *Agnipurāṇa*, "Daśāvatāra stotra" of Śaṅkarācārya—Vide, K. N. Mohāpātra, *Jayadeva O Gītagovinda*, Seif publication, Bhubaneiwar-2,-1973, p. 92.

25. Śrī Harṣa, *Naiṣadhiya Caritaṃ*, Vārāṇasī, Chowkhamba. 1963. Canto-21. 'Here the writer has counted the names of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma both, in the list of the Avatāras. But the poet Jayadeva counted the name of Balarāma in the list in the place of Kṛṣṇa since by the time it had been proved by the "Utkal khaṇḍa" of *Skanda purāṇa* that Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, both are one and the same. Vide—

    Ksemarāj Kṛṣṇadāsa, *Puruṣottama Ksetra Māhātmyaṃ*, Bombay, 1952. Canto—19/13-16.

    'Na bhedo' stiha ko viprāḥ kṛṣnasya ca balasya ca.'

26. Jayadeva, Gītagovindaṃ Cuttack R. Press 1963 *Gītā*-No. 3. Harismaraṇa".

    Gītagovindaṃ Gīta No. 8 9 10 11 14 for Hari'; *Gīta* No. 19 for Murāri; *Gīta* No. 6 for Madhusūdana; *Gīta* No. 5 for Madhuripu; *Gīta* No. 4 for Keśava kelirahasya.

27. *Puruṣottama Kṣetramāhātmyaṃ*; Bombay V. Press 1962—See here Mādhava—2/15 Kṛṣṇa—19/37 40 46 47 22/430/37 28/57 Govinda —. *Kapila Saṃhitā*—R. press Cuttack-1961. pp. 8

28. Ibid. S/6-8.
Garuḍapurāṇa Cal. Vidyāsāgara 1890 p. 335.

29. K. N. Mohāpātra *Jayadeva O Gītagovinda* pp. 113-123.
Prācī Māhātmyaṃ (M. S.) State Museum Orissa—Canto. No. 10.
R. L. Panda—Prācīnadīra aitihāsika vibhāva Self Cuttack 1961. pp. 99-101.

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CAUSAL NECESSITY AND ITS TWO DOMAINS

K. P. Mishra

In this paper, I propose to discuss necessitarian stand point which Hume took up in his analysis of the psychical life as well as the physical domain. Contrary to the belief of many, he instead of denying causal necessity admits rather the universal reign of causality. Of course, in propounding his theory, he stipulates a meaning of causation. He is conscious that he is doing something significant and is also alert lest his views may be interpreted to be dangerous to the established religion and morality of the people. I think his fear and his consciousness of having done something unusual are good clues to interpret his view on causation. There may be attempts to prove that really he is not away from the beaten-track, really he is not alien to the uniqueness of causation or genetic view of causation. Only because he confines himself to an epistemological analysis of human nature, he is forced to hold the view that 'power, force, energy', etc., are not empirically verifiable. There may be the power of originating something in the external world but we simply cannot know it. However, this interpretation is incorrect as he claims that the 'power' or 'necessity' which unites causes and effects lies only in the determination of the mind to pass from the one to the other. But let me not anticipate these results before discussing them in detail.

Hume tries to find out the primary impression from which the idea of causal connection arises. He takes it for granted that every genuine idea must have a corresponding impression. Every object external or internal is either a cause or an effect or both. One does not find any single causal common quality observable in all objects. So the required impression should be sought not among the relations. These relation must be common to all the objects that are said to be the instances of causation. Contiguity is one such relation. Also a cause is always prior to its effect. But objects may be contiguous and prior and still not causes. The causal relation purports to reveal necessary connection in matters of fact and contiguity and priority, in any single given instances are not evidence of necessary connection. In view of all this Hume comes to the conclusion that neither the qualities nor the relations of any single pair of objects contained the required impression.

Hume proposes to discuss the following questions with a hope to answer them : Why do we say it is necessary that everything that has a beginning must have a cause ? Why do we say that we infer with necessity ? The principle contained in the first question cannot be either intuitively or demonstratively certain as it is always conceivable that an object might come into or pass out of existence without having been caused to do so. Also intuitive or demonstrative certainty implies that the opposite is inconceivable.

Accordingly causal inference cannot be knowledge. It must be probable or experimental reasoning based upon matter of fact experience. Hence, this type of reasoning should be analysed through its particular cases. How experience teaches us, given X to infer the necessary existence of its specific attendant Y, when Y is not given ?

How then do we infer from experience? We remember X to have been constantly followed, without sensible interruption, by Y, in several uncontradicted instances. So we infer the existence of Y, given the existence of X. Now another relevant relation concerning causality has come up through our analysis. This is the observed constant conjunction in past experience.

Now instead of a single X—followed by—Y we have a multitude of instances of X—followed by—Y. And we have assumed that each several X, and each several Y in these instances have the same nature as in a single instance. We also know that from mere repetition of a past impression even to infinity, there will never arise any new original idea, such as that of necessary action.

However, in these inferences we pass from our past experiences to the future and the underlying principle is the principle of uniformity of nature. This principle of uniformity of nature must either pertain to the associative imagination or reason. As sudden change in nature's habits is conceivable this principle cannot belong to reason. So, even after experience of constant conjunction, the causal inference cannot be taken as an affair of knowledge. It belongs to the sphere of probability. Hume later distinguishes causal probabilities which are derived from conjectural probabilities.

He next proceeds to say that objects in themselves evince nothing but prior conjunctions; but the repetition of similar specific conjunctions evokes the feeling of necessity and this feeling of necessity or 'determination of the mind' is itself an impression. It is an 'impression of reflection'. It is the internal impression from which the idea of connection or necessity is derived.

Hume takes the terms of efficiency, agency, power, force, energy, necessity, connection and productive quality as terms which are almost synonyms. He says that efficacy cannot be observed in objects, nor is it observable in the exercise of the human will. In the appendix he says that actions of the human mind are the same with that of matter. For him we perceive only their constant conjunction, nor can we ever reason beyond it. No internal impression has an apparent energy more than external objects have.[2] So it is useless to say that one feels power in one's mind and then transfers this idea of power to matter, where one is not able to discover it.

In my opinion Hume's analysis of necessary connection among the things in the world around us is thoroughly logical though it appears not to be completely satisfactory. We have to admit that all we could observe would be more or less constant conjunctions. This is true in case of any type of observation, controlled or uncontrolled, inside the laboratory or outside it.

It is very difficult to construe any single meaning out of Hume's writings in view of his misleading and occasionally inconsistent statements. For example, he defines a cause to be, an object precedent and contiguous to another, and where all the objects resembling the former are placed in like relations of precedency and contiguity to those objects, that resemble the latter.[3] He gives a second definition of cause also. "A cause is an object precedent and contiguous to other and so united with it that the idea of the one determines the mind to form the idea of the other and the impression of the one to form a more lively idea of the other"[4] Now in these definitions one does not find any mention of the necessary connection. But elsewhere he writes, "According to my definitions, necessity makes an essential part of causation......".[5] One wonders how to reconcile these statements of Hume.

We also admit that Hume's analysis of causation fails to differentiate things which are really connected from the things which merely happen to occur in conjunction. But we think this difficulty can be removed with multiplication of instances under investigation.

Now let us turn to Hume's discussion of this causal necessity in the physical domain. In his discussion he shows that as popular view of power in the external world could not stand his analysis, similarly philosophers, view of free will cannot stand his logic now. We have to note here that Hume does not say that the concept of free will is irrelevant to morals, as he does not say that there is no necessity in causation. Only he uses free will in a peculiarly technical sense by saying that necessity is merely a matter of the constant conjunction of similar objects and the consequent inference from one to the other.

Everybody is sure that the operations of external bodies do not take place with indifference or liberty. On the other hand they are determined by an absolute fate. In them we come to know of necessity through their uniform behaviour. The question is whether human actions do show much uniformity as we find in case of natural events and whether we should infer necessity in this case also. Hume says that not only we should infer but everybody rather does infer and the dispute about necessity and liberty is really a quarrel because of not fixing definite meanings to certain terms.

Human nature remains still the same in its principle and operations. The same motive always produce the same actions. Motives like ambition, avarice, selflove, vanity, friendship, generousity and public spirit are the basic sources of all actions and enterprises. One comes to know of these motives by studying actions, expressions and gestures of men. No doubt we discover apparent inconstancy in human actions, but we so do in earthquake and in the weather. In both sets of instance we should proceeed upon the same maxims, "Supposing that the usual contrariety proceeds from the operation of contrary and concealed causes, conclude that the change or indifference lies only in our judgement on account of our imperfect knowledge, not in the things themselves, which are in every case equally necessary though to appearance not equally constant and certain."[6]

In short, firstly he appeals to universal consent to prove his thesis that there is a great uniformity, in the actions of men. Then his argument is that our knowledge of this regularity serves as a criterion of credibility. Thirdly he says that without this regularity there could be no benefit of that experience acquired by long life and a variety of business and company. Fourthly he meets the "irregular and extraordinary actions". by saying that they are like earthquakes and wayward weather. Then he says that everyone does unavoidably and continually make and act upon inference about the behaviour of other people. He also appeals to speculative science and their reasonings to prove his proposition.

He employs all these arguments to show that the operations and activities of the mind are also controlled by casual necessity. He says that the concept of necessity which he is supporting is consistent with moral life. He insists that only on this assumptions of necessity moral responsibility can be upheld. For only then actions disclose the character and the abiding dispositions of the agent; and only as they do so are they subject of moral approval or censure. Men, Hume points out are less blamed for actions performed ignorantly and casually, then for these of deliberate intent. Thus according to Hume casual necessity rules as rigorously in the psychical world as in the physical domain.

Surprisingly one finds that Hume is not as rigorously logical here in his discussion about the will as he is when he discusses casual necessity in the physical domain. All that Hume shows in his aforesaid arguments is that a large measure of regularity is to be found in human nature. But how does he jump from this premise to the conclusion that always human volition is controlled by necessity ?

Hume says that by the will, he means nothing but the internal impression we feel and are conscious of, when we knowingly give rise to any new motion of our body or new perception of our mind. From this statement, it seems that will as the internal impression is either simultaneous or posterior to the new action of the body or mind. Now let us see what Hume means by liberty : "a power of acting according to the determination of the will".[7] That is, Hume thinks that will is something which is prior to action. But how can the something be prior and posterior to the same action ? And Hume says that the human will is free or does have liberty in the sense.

One sees that Hume is not sure of his ground in this section on liberty and necessity and often comes to dead ends in his arguments. His prodigious discovery in causation fails to work and Hume embarrasingly becomes aware of this on more than one occasions. Take for example the objection that if voluntary actions be subjected to the same necessity with the operations of matter, then there is a continued chain of necessary causes reaching from the original cause of all to every single volition of every creature. To this objection Hume fails to give any answer and things that it is a mystery which can not be solved.

In discussing casual necessity in the external world Hume tries to show that the concept of necessity or efficacy is copied from an impression of reflection. We cannot know power or a cause as producing or engendering an effect. And when he tries to fit this analysis into the psychical domain he faces very great difficulties. There are instances of 'volition' in which we 'knowingly', bring about an effect. When the body moves upon the command of the will we are conscious of the fulfilment of the command. But Hume would say this fulfilment of volition is a fact which like all other natural events, is known only by experience. For him this union of body and mind is another mystery.

And what about the mind's power over its own faculties ? We can call up an idea at will. Hume explains this away again by saying that it is experience alone that vouches for what thus happens, and discloses the conditions under which and the limits within which, it occurs. He could have as well said that it is another mystery.

We feel that there are action which are subject to the will and we also feel that the will itself is not subject to anything. But Hume will say that this is 'false sensation' or 'seeming experience'. "We may imagine we feel a liberty within ourselves, but a spectator can commonly infer our actions from our motives and character, and even where he cannot he concludes in general that he might, were he perfectly acquainted with every circumstance of our situation and temper, and the most secret springs of our complexion and disposition. Now this is the very essence of necessity, according to the foregoing doctrine."[8]

Hume is asking his readers here to accept a great many things each one of which can be challenged. For instance do people think in this way ? And suppose they think as Hume says are they right in their thoughts ?

But now one need not ask Hume to explain his position any further. He himself is conscious that in these arguments he was voyaging in an ocean of doubt, uncertainty and contradiction.

It appears that Hume's theory of causal necessity could not fit into the psychical domain as it did in case of the physical world.

NOTES

1. David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, Everyman's Library, No. 549, 1960, Appendix, p. 313 ff.
2. *Ibid.*
3. See *Treatise*, No. 548, 1961, p. 95.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Treatise*, No. 549, p. 120,
6. *Ibid*, No. 549, p. 117.
7. *Ibid*, No. 549, p. 113 ff.
8. *Ibid*. No. 549, p. 121.

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MANPOWER PLANNING AND INVESTMENT IN EDUCATION

B. Sahoo

Issues concrning manpower planning are four fold viz :—

I. Rapid growth of population. II. Inadequate labour participation. III. Underutilisation of labour from the point of view of duration of work. IV. Low level of efficiency. Solution of these issues call for measures effecting population control, qualitative improvement of man, motivation to work and transfer of surplus labour force to the areas and sectors of absorption.

There is a peruasive belief and rightly so, that a well planned educational system is a conditioning if not an impelling factor, for the realisation of the above goals. Educational planning is an important plank for manpower planning. Hence, the questions how to plan education. how to plan investment in education. The paper attempts to discuss this question.

There are two distinct approaches to educational planning. (1) One is the tradional consumption approach or social demand approach. (2) The other is the modern approach entailing social rate of return approach, man power fore-casting approach and income shares approach.

The first approach considers education as a consumption. Here administrators simply set the terms on which education will be available to the people in future. There is no specific criterion in terms of which the educational needs will be defined. There is no particular choice or projection set for the people. The only obvious guideline is, educate every one up to his abilities. Education of parents and neighbours and social status of parents influence the decision regarding children's education. This approach does not give any guideline to the educational planners for the solution of various problems associated with manpower planning for economic development. This approach therefore does not find favour with modern planners.

Modern approach to the educational planning is described as investment approach. Expenditure on education has been viewed as a type of investment in man and man has been likened to capital.

As early as in 1691 Sir William Petty characterised man as capital, being "the father of all wealth" and Adam Smith (1723-1790) saw improved dexterity of work-man in same light as a machine or insrument of trade "which facilitates and abridges labour and which, though it costs a certain expense, repays the expense with a profit"[2]. Fred-rich List spoke of "immaterial capital and productive powers" consisting of acquired and natural skills, dexterity, judgement, and accumulation of past discoveries, inventions and improvements, and stressed the need for sacrificing some measure of material capital to gain culture, skill and powers of united production.[3] Defining wealth as "a useful appropriated material subject" and stock of wealth as capital, Irving Fisher (1867-1942) observed, "Man is material as truly as a horse or ox. He is appropriated whether the owner be another person as in case of slavery or himself as in the case of freedom. The formula of wealth thus includes man himself."[4] Man has been included in the concept of capital and expenditure on it has been treated as capital-making for three reasons.

(1) The cost of rearing and educating human being as a real cost. (2) The product of human labour adds to the national wealth. (3) An outlay on a man which increases this product will, ceteris paribus, increases national wealth.

Thus, the concept, educational spending as an investment, has been there since long. Modern economists have popularised the concept by scientifically measuring the benefits accruing from human capital formation.

Education, man and the economy

Investment in education has been stressed in recent years because of its direct and indirect, measurable and immeasurable effect on man and the economy. Through its impact on efficiency, skill and attitude, education has helped increase in productivity, diversification of occupations and regulation of population-growth.

Schultz writes, "Literacy has a pervasive value in reducing costs and in improving productivity of the economy."[5] Shoup and his associates calculating on the basis of difference in the earnings of an illiterate agricultural worker and those who completed six years of schooling found incremental return to primary schooling in Venezuela to be 130 P. C. per annum.[6] Studies made by Chaudhury (1968) Tilak (1975) in India have found positive correlation between productivity of agriculture and education of the farmer and use of modern input and farmer's education.[7]

P. M. Houser opines that in U. S. A. during 1899-1955 investment in labour capital and land accounted for only 1/3rd of total increase in output while the rest was due to the increased use of technology or human capital.[8] Robert M. Solow estimates return on education in U. S. A. between 1909 and 1949 at 87.5 P. C. of the increase in output per man hour.[9] Dr. Chandra Sekhar and National Sample Survey reveal that educatron, particularly, education of woman, is a powerful deterrent to rapid population growth.

If education has significant impact on quality, attitude and mobility of man which influence economic development, then, the question arises how to pattern investment in education or in other words what eriterion has to be followed in deciding how much and in which field of education the available funds are to be spent. This is a tricky question which defies easy solution. Various approaches have been applied to the above decision.

Criteria of Educational Investment

Three important criteria have been put forth to guide decision on investment in education. They are (I) Rate of Return Approach, (II) Man power forecasting Approach and (III) Income shares Approach.

Under the first approach education is expanded till the present value of education of the last man educated falls to zero or until the social cost of return on education is equal to the social discount rate.

The method in volves finding out the present value of the flow of individuals future earning resulting from education by using appropriate discount rate. The return on education is found alternatively by comparing average life time earnings of more educated individual with that of less educated person by the similar pursuits.

Schultz estimated educational expendeture taking direct cost like government and private institutional and other expenses and indirect cost like alternative earnings fore-gone by students while as schools and colleges and compared it with income earned by the educated person to get the return.

V. N. Kothari adopting Schulz' method and assuming different rates of participation in work for students during the period of their education, estimated that total factor cost of education, as percentages of net national income in India increased from 3.6 P. C. to 6.5 P. C. in lower estimate during 1950-51 and 1959-60.[10] Fritz Machlup estimates the total cost of education in U. S. A. in 1955-58 at 11.8. P. C. of its G. N. P.

Rates of Return to Education.
Different Estimates.

Harberger 1966			Nallagaurdan 1967			Blaug—etal 1969		
	SRR.	PRR.		SSR.	PRR.		SRR.	PRR.
Graduate/P.G. —Primary	15.0		—Litefate Illiterate	15 9	30.0	Primary Illiterate	15.2	18.7
Secondary— Primary	11.9		—Primary Literate	17.0	23.0	Middle Primary	14.2	16.1
			Middle Primary	11.8	13.0			
			Matric Middle	10.3	10.0	Matric Middle	10.5	11.9
Graduate/P.G. —Secondary.	16.6		—B.A. BSc Matric	7.0	8.1	Degree— Matric	8s9	10.4
			Engineering —Matric	9.8	13.8	Matric— Illeterate	13.9	16.5
						Degree— Illiterate	12.0	13.9
						Engineering —Illiterate.	13.8	17.0

Kolhari 1967	SRR.	PRR.	Pandit 1972	SRR.	PRR.
High School	20.0		Incomplete elementary education	9.88	10.66
Colleges	13.0	14.0	Middle Primary	17.34	20.34
			Matric Middle	6.30	7.76
Art Science	10.0	—	Intermediate Matrlc	5.00	6.78
Engineering	22.0	25.0	Degree matric	5.25	8.11
			Professional Degree Matric	5.56	6.63
			All higher Matric education	5.00	6.14

Source— J. B. G. Tilak "Approaches to educational planning and their application in India."

Note :— SRR.—Social Rate of Return.
PRR.—Private Rate of Return.

As to the rate of return, lot of data are available to guide us.

Grays Becker measureing income differentials arising from the cost of education in U. S. A. found that the rates of return on education for urban white population were 12.6 P. C. in 1940 and 10 P. C. in 1950. Harbison of Mosachausset university has found average rates of return on human capital and material capital in U. S. A. during 1929 and 1957 at 20 P. C. and 15 P. C. respectively.

Reasearches in india reveal the following rates of return to education (return of one level of education over the other).

The broad features of the findings are as follows.

(1) Investment in education in India is not economically as profitable as investment in physical capital ranging from 17-27 percentage.

(2) The high private rates of return, higher than the social rates, gives us misleading conclusion that investment in education is privately efficient, socially not. This is so because while calculating the social rate of return, we are considering only private benefits and the social costs ignoring social benefits which are not easily quantifiable.

(3) The rates of return decline as one moves from lower ladder of education to a higher one. This perhaps suggests that the return approach is not adequate to provide satisfactory explanation to this phenomenon.

This approach to educational investment despite its scientific sophistication contains certian flaws. They are :—

(1) That it takes into account only future earning, not future consumption flowing from education.

(2) That the earning differentials relate to the difference in formal education only, not in job training and experience.

(3) That it concentrates on the measurement of private rates of return on educational investment without considering the effect of education on output.

(4) That it undervalues the importance of one layer of education as a stepping stone to further edvcation.

(5) That the approach assumes the tradition bound age structure associated with different kinds of education as rational.

(6) That it assumes the feasibility of separating the influence of native ability, social class, ethnic origin and drive to claculate the opportunity cost of education accurately.

Not-with-standing these short-comings this approach, Blang say, provides "a signal direction to invest more or less."

In "man power forecasting approach", planners identify the man power required in terms of skills and numbers in light of the targeted growth of the G. N. P. This approach involves critical examination of structural distribution of existing manpower and educational sytstem, fixation of targets of out put at aggregate and disaggregate level and finally, forecasting various types of skilled men required on the basis of in put-output co-efficients as Tin bergen and Bose did. Bomabach, G. makes a powerful plea for this apptoach.[12]

Anderson and Bowman discard this approach because of the diffculties in forecasting. In a market economy employment of the educated is not determined by the technological norms specified in the approach but by economic or socio-political factors.

Incomeshare approach, an extended version of production function approach, takes education as an explicit or implicit variable in economic growth. This approach is based on marginal productivity theory of distribution where the price of any factor, I, is given by the product of marginal product of the resource I to price of the output J. Then the relative share of the resource I in th the total value of the output is simply the ratio between price of the resource and the price of the output.[14]

The approach is questioned on its assumption of equality between factor price and marginal productivity. It is criticised for ignoring marginal social product which includes externalities.

Besides the above approaches other ones like programming approaches of Sen and Input—output approach of Sone are worth mentioning.

Scholars have applied one or more of the above approaches to the problem of educational planning in India. But, no single approach is found to be adquate. Rates of Return approach ignores primary and dynamic benefits of education, forecasting approach ignores cost of production.

The return approach may be used to evaluate capital cost of education, forecasting technique may be combined with socio-cultural approaches for deciding additional outlays and fixing targets for enrolments.

Let us examine how far the various approaches have been applied to educational planning in India.

A review of the plan documents and other papers throw certain light on the thinking of the palanners and educationists of our country.

At the inception of First five Year plan the problems of education were inadequacy of education at all levels, neglect of women's education, disparities of educational facilities between rural and urban areas and between different states and undue emphasis on academic training devoid of practical sense and resource-fulness among students. The incepient democracy needed very much the growth of the spirit of co-operation disciplined citizenship and capacity of the people to participate intelligently in public affairs. "It is essential therefore" "the First plan stated" that education should train the individual to place duties above rights and should develop in him the power of critical appreciation and the habit of logical thought."[15]

The Fourth Five year plan, aware of the importance of education, reiterated, "A suitably oriented system of education can facilitate and promote social change and can contribute to economic growth not only by training skilled manpower for specific task of development but what is perhaps even more important by creating the requisite attitude and climate."[16]

Stress has all along been placed on universalization of elementary education including adult literacy. The constitutional Directives to endeavour to provide within 10 Years from the commencement of constitution for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years has been sought to be observed. The Sixth Five year plan Draft has assigned high priority to adult education to remove illiterrcy and to" increase the awareness of these people about themselves and about the social reality around them. to organise them. to assist them to understand and strive to solve the different problems in their day to day life and to involve them in meaningful and challenging tasks of social and national development."[17]

The preceding passages reveal that the Indian planners have given much weightage to the traditional view. namely education as a necessary consumption and have expanded it for constitutional and cultural purpose. Yet, the goal of Universitisation of elementary education and removal of illiteracy has not yet been achieved (Vide Table—IV & V).

This, of course, does not imply that they were oblivious of the economic significance of educational planning.

Right from the period of First Five year Plan the problem of over crowding in higher institution, qualitative improvement and development of technical and vocational education have drawn the attention of the planners "There is no alternative but to apply selective tests on a large scale so that no body is allowed to receive university education who is not fit to profit by it."[18]—The First plan observed. The Fourth Five Year Plan stressed the need for improving science education and orienting educational system to the needs of industry and self employment. The plan emphasized the importance of interrelationship between the educational development at higher level on the one hand and pattern of jobs and future demand of the economy on the other hand. The plan, of course, visualised the inherent uncertainty of longterm forecast of the growth of the economy and difficulty in working out the ramified implication of employment and corresponding requirement of phased output from educational system.[19]

The accent of the Sixth plan in respect of Secondary education is on qualitative improvement, vocationalisation and restraint on expansion. Access to higher education will be linked to talent and aptitude. Admission to institutions will be selective.[20] As to the technical education the existing facilities are adequate to meet the additional requirements of the engineering man-power for the next ten years. "Changes in manpower demand in different specialities will be met by appropriate shifts in discipline-wise intake within the overall capacity of the system."[21]

From the above discourse it is clear that right from the Fourth Five Year plan, there has been conscious effort to plan education in light of manpower requirement. But the success of this effort has been vitiated either by the non-fulfilment of growth target or by the deviation from the plan due to political compulsion as is indicated by the growing figure of the educated unemployment.

Table 1 shows the growth of annual intake and out-turn in technical institutions.

Stock of doctors increased from 70000 in 1960-61 to 86000 in 1965-66 and to 102000 in 1968-69. It was estimated to increase to 138000 in 1973-74 and 174320 in 1977-78. The doctor population ratio in 1968-69 was 1 : 52000.

The stock of agricultural graduates increased from 14000 in 1960-61 to 32000 in 1965-66 and was expected to rise to 71000 in 1973-74. The stock in 1977-78 was 93360.

The stock of graduate engineers is estimated to have increased from 58000 in 1960-61 to 134000 in 1968-69 and of diploma holders from 75000 in 1960-61 to 198000 in 1968-69. The respective numbers in 1977-78 were 251860 and 346730.[22]

As against the rapid growth of the stock of educated persons (technical and general) there has been slow growth of employment opportunities. As a result of this there has emerged large educated unemployment. As Table 2 shows unemployed engineers, doctors and agricultural graduates in 1977-78 formed 2.4, 1.9 and 5.9 P. C. of their respective total stocks. The absolute figure of unemployment, though not percentage, is very much alarming. The problem of unemployment of science, arts and commerce graduates is frightening and is growing. This vindicates the view that man-power programming approach so far has not been effectively applied, not-withstanding its espousal time and again.

There have been in-efficient technique used in forecasting man power requirements, prevalence of over-qualified appointment and failure of leadership in withstanding political pressure for over-expansion of higher education.

One singular omission in India's educational planning appears to be the absence of the rate of return approach. Educational expenditure as percentage of National Income rose from 1.1 P. C. in 1949-50 to 3.2 P. C. in 1969-70. Nowhere in plan documents however mention has been made of the relative rates of return to investments in education at various levels, nor their comparison with returns to other types of investment. Ofcourse, in a vast and growing country calculation of the average social rates of return to educational investment is a difficult task, yet, an attempt to get approximate rates and apply them to intersectoral and intra-setoral distribution of outlay would have been a check to disproportionate expansion. The high percentage of droppage, 65.3 % up to class viii as given in National Research Study Report speaks of the lack of concern for the rate of return approach. "Education in India is not a consumption but an investment"[23] and the rate of return concept must be borne in mind of the planners.

There are high correlations between agricultural development and primary education (0.92), industrial development and technical education (0.87), education in medical science, technology, agriculture, applied engineering and gross national income (0.69) and low correlation between education in art, literature, language and national income

(0.16). Further, the cost of educating one undergraduate is 22 times that of a primary student and costs of educating one post-graduate (general) and one post-graduate (science) are equal to 41 and 89 primary students respectively.[24]

Considering the above facts, emphasis on effective and purposeful development of primary and technological and applied education consistent with the pattern of economic development suitably visualized for the economy is warranted.

No doubt, relatively higher percentage of resources has been allocated to primary, secondary and technical education. Yet, the educational system continues to remain irrelevant and unbalanced, perhaps, due to our failure at detailed planning of curricula, correct proportion of expendi-ture at various heads and efficient administration of education.

Education as a means of human resource development must keep in view the social, political and economic ends. The short-run and long-run goals are to be harmonised. Human resource planning has to be incorporated into the methodological framework of a general development planning.[25] Unfortunately in India greater attention seems to have been given to short run and political goals in educational planning.

Education cannot be divorced from the type of society we intend to build. Our development programme has created such a state of mind which rationalises industrial more and considers education as passport to privilege. India, on the contrary, needs a new system which makes education as a privilege to service.[26]

The multifarious objectives of education, social, political and cultural cannot be achieved through one approach to planning. An integrated approach reconciling all approaches is needed. To have it programming model appears to be most promising.

Our educational policy has been one of drift in response to wind. A rational and clear direction appropriate to the structure of our society is essential. This will be possible if there is a strong will to have it. Educational transformation in India is not merely a matter of clear thinking but also of courage and determination.[27]

Table 1

Annual Admission and Outturn of Technical Students.

Year	Medical Graduates		Agricultural Graduates		Engineering Graduates	
	A	B	A	B	A	B
1960-61	7008	4068	5634	2150	13692	5703
1965-66	11079	6159	10049	5259	23315	10282
1966-67	11106	7407	8649	4368	24934	3051
1967-68	11500	9080	8407	5800	24237	13772
1973	13000	10300				

Note — A = Admission, B = Outturn.

Source — Fourth Five Year Plan Draft. 1969-74.

Table 2

Estimated Stock, Unemployment of Graduates

	1977-78			1982-83		
	Total (1)	Unemployed (2)	P.C. of (2)to(1)	Total (3)	Unemployed (4)	P.C. of (4)to(3)
1. Engineering (Degree)	251860	6034	2.4	322000	9409	2.9
2. Engineering (Diploma)	346730	36050	10.4	464290	73725	15.9
3. Medical Graduate & P.G.	172320	3340	1.9	216090	6490	3.0
4. Agriculture Graduate & P.G.	93360	5554	5.9	114190	4709	4.1
5. Veterinary Graduate & P.G.	19336	(–)3354	—	22610	(+)5879	—
6. Arts Graduate	2842130	310251	10 9	4019420	778555	19.4
7. Arts P.G.	801680	34676	4.3	1091900	61258	5.6
8. Science Graduates	1182272	190056	16.1	1694660	271226	16.0
9. Science P.G.	243412	14824	6.1	317742	24402	7.7
10. Commerce Graduates	753024	94741	12.6	1091070	187803	17.2
11. CommerceP.G.	100260	3330	3.3	138847	14835	10.7
Total	6808384	695502	10.2	9492825	1426533	15.0

Source—Draft five year Plan 1978-83 P-100.

Table 3

Distribution of Plan Outlay on Education

(Percentage of total)

	1st Plan	2nd Plan	3rd Plan	4th Plan	5tn Plan	Anticipated expenditure 1974-78	Plan 1978-88
1. Elementary Education	56	35	34	32	32	35	46
2. Secondary Education	1.3	19	21	22	19	17	15
3. University Education	9	18	16	15	23	22	14
4 Technical Education	13	18	22	21	12	12	7
5. Social education, cultural activities and other Programme.	9	10	7	10	14	14	18 (Including 10% on adult education.)

Source—Draft Five Year Plan 1978-83, India 1977-78 P. 229.

Table 4.

Enrolment by Stages. (In 000)

	1950-51	1960-61	1970-71	1973-74
1. Primary	18678	13631	59252	63193
2. Middle	3330	7480	13399	14689
3. Secondary	1481	3463	7167	7475
4. University	174	557	1954	2234

Source—Draft Five Yeur plan 1978-83 P. 226

Table 5.
Percentages of children enrolled.

Age group	1950-51	1973-74
6—11	43	84
11—14	13	36
6—14	32	67

Source—Draft Five Year Plan, 1978-83. P. 219

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INDIAN CONSTITUTION AND LABOUR WELFARE

Harekrishna Swain

When the Indian Constitution was framed by the Constituent Assembly soon after the Independence, there was much broader argument on the nature of the political structure to be embodied in it than on the methods of bringing about changes in economic structure of the country and the humane conditions of certain sections of population. Generally speaking the institutions of Parliamentary democracy were adopted for determining the political structure of the Sovereign Democratic Republic of India, leaving it to future parliament to deal with the question of necessary economic transformation. Therefore, while the framers of the Constitution went at great length into the minutiae of parliamentary procedure they contented themselves with stating in extremely general terms the direction in which they visualised the country's fate to move. Not that there was any doubt in their minds about the final objectives of social changes, but it was not possible for them to spell out in detail the methods and procedures for bringing about the fulfilment of those objectives. At the same time, they wanted to ensure that the future government and the parliament of the country would not lose sight of those objectives but would constantly strive to bring to their realisation nearer and nearer.

The Constitution of India (1950) has setforth solemnly and in some detail the main aims and objectives of Government action regarding the welfare of labour population, which must become progressively larger because of the rapid and planned industrialisation of the Indian economy.

It is the Directive Principles of State Policy in Part IV of the Constitution that we find in enumeration of those objectives. Though not enforceable by any Court, "the principles therein laid down are nevertheless fundamental in the governance of the country and it shall be the duty of the state to apply those principles in making laws", (Art. 37).

The broad purpose of the state action is laid down in Art. 38 of the constitution as to : "State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life".

Article 39 the Directive Principles of State Policy requires the state to formulate its policy with a view to securing —

"(a) that the citizens, men and women equally have the right to an adequate means of livelihood;

(b) that there is equal pay for equal work for both men and women:

(c) that the health and strength of workers, men and women and the tender age of the children are not faced by economic necessity to enter avocations unsuited to their age and strength.........".

Art. 41 enjoins upon the state to make, as far as feasible, "effective provisions for securing the right to work, to education and public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement and in other cases of undeserved want".

Art. 43 says, "the state shall endeavour to secure by suitable legislation or economic organisation or in any other way, to all workers, agriculture, industrial or otherwise, work or a living wage, conditions of work ensuring a decent standard of life and full employment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities in particular the state shall endeavour to promote cottage industries on industrial or co-operative basis in rural areas".

In the concurrent list of the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution, there is an inclusion of matters relating to labour's interest and welfare. The subjects relating labour are enumerated in Enteries 22-25 of the Concurrent list are :—

(i) trade unions, industrial and labour disputes;

(ii) the social security and social insurance; employment and unemployment;

(iii) welfare of labour including conditions of work, provident funds, employers' liability, Workmens compensation, invalidity and old age pensions and maternity benefits; and

(iv) vocational and technical training of labour.

The only exception to the Coneurrent jurisdiction of central and state governments in labour matters is made by 55 of the union list; it places regulations for labour and safety in mines and oil fields" under the jurisdiction of the union Parliament.

The first Factories Act and the first Mines Act in India were enacted in 1881 and in 1901 respectively. The Factories Act was amended in successive decades in 1891, 1911 and 1922 in order to enlarge its scope.

The Act of 1881 was enacted with emphasis on the major provisions like health and safety, the limited employment of children in factories and the definition of the factory for the first time was brought under legislation; "to be any premises using mechanical power and in which hundred persons or more were employed for four months or more in a year". It defined ihe "Child" and made provision for holidays of childworkers.

In subsequent decade i. e. in 1891, the amendment brought, wide provisions for protection of interval of rest, prohibition of work during night shifts for women workers. The number of workers for definition of the factory was reduced to fifty and empowered local Government to extend it to organisations of twenty persons.

The amended Act of 1911 brought little modifications on working hours of all categories of workers as 12 hours for adults and six hours for child workers along with prohibiting the employment of women and child workers in certain dangerous process and night shifts.

With a view to giving an objective emphasis on the legislative effect to the conventions of International Labour on working hours, the new Factories Act of 1922 fixed minimum age for children and the night work for women and young workers.

The Workmen's Compensation Act of 1923 was a land mark in labour legislation for it imposed on the employers an obligation to pay compensation to workers for injuries, disablement; total or partial and death caused by accidents in course of their work. The Indian Mines Act of 1923, the Trade Unions Act of 1926 and Trade Disputes Conciliation Act of 1929 recognised the right of the workers to collective bargaining and specified in some respects the duties of employer regarding fair wages and working conditions.

The year 1929 witnessed for the first time a great change by setting up of the Royal Commission on Labour to have a detailed study over the labour problems in India. In 1931 the Royal Commission submitted its Report with recommendations of amending the existing Factories Act of 1922 in view of bringing changes in working hours, working conditions. It also recommended for maternity benefits, the gradual extension of compensation to workers generally, creation of permanent machinery to deal with trade disputes and grant of concurrent legislative power to provincial legislatures without impairing the power of the Governor General's Council.

The second important step which was taken for investigation in the field of Labour Welfare after appointment of Rege Committe in 1943-44 in order to explore the inherent problems of Indian labourers. In its Report of 1946, the Rege Committee called for a Labour Code for regulating conditions for work and wages of industrial labour. It proposed provisions of adequate industrial housing, canteens, creches, entertainment, medical aid, care of childern, educational facilities, schemes of Provident Fund, gratuity and pension for workers etc.

Following the Independence the Indian National congress which was in power at the Centre and in Provinces started planning for the implementation of the nationalist programme for labour welfare. As has been stated in historic resolution on Fundamental Rights and Duties and economic programmes adopted in the Karachi Session of Congress Party in 1931.

"The state shall safeguard the interests of industrial workers and shall secure for them by suitable legislation and an otherways, living wage, health conditions of work, limited hours of labour, suitable machinery for settlement of disputes between employers and workmen and protection against the economic consequences of old age, sickness and unemployment".

After Independence, Factories Act 1948 came in to existence with a wide change; raised munimum age of employment of children in all workshops enumerated in the Act from 12 to 14.

In the First Five-Year Plan of India (1951-56) the Planning Commission emphasised the distinctive role of workers; "The worker is the principal instrument in the fulfilment of the targets of the plan and in the achievement of economic progress generally. His co-operation will be an essential factor in creating an economic organisations in the country which will best subserve the needs of social justice, certain rights and obligations are associated with this distinctive role".

Labour Welfare measures during first five year plan : (1951-1956)

The First Five Year Plan was drawn up in the context of growing consciousness of the importance of industrial labour in the national economy. With the advent of Independence, certain assurances were given in recognition of its rights which had long been neglected. An attempt was made in First Plan to give concrete shape to these assurances and to give labour a fair deal consistent with requirements of other sectors of the economy.

There was significant improvement in the field of industrial relations by creating rooms for joint consultation at various levels. Infact much of the legislation in the last five years has been agreed to in the broad outline, by the parties concerned in tripartite committees. Much progress was made in the field of labour welfare by settling various issues on bonus and profit sharing. In implementation of the Employees State Insurance Act 1948 and Employees' Provident Fund Act 1952, the social security measures accelerated to a certain extent. A further measure of security in case of loss of employment has been provided in the shape of Industrial Disputes (Amendment) Act, 1953. Industrial Tribunals occupied pivotal place in giving security for awards on issues like Provident Fund, gratuity etc. The importance of better working conditions has also been progressively recognised. For systematic study on problems of production in relation to health and safety of workers, a central Labour Institute has been planned and productivity studies in certain industries have been promoted. State Government opened various welfare centres and effort was made for improving industrial housing.

Development of Labour Welfare during second plan : (1956-61)

The Constitution of India, in its preamble has declared that it aims at securing for all its citizens :—

"JUSTICE, Social, economic and Political,

LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship,

EQUALITY of status and of opportunity, and to promote
among them all;

FRATEZNITY; assuring the dignity of the individual
and unity of the nation".

In Winter session of the 1954 the Parliament accepted the basic and general principles, "the socialist pattern of society", to give more precise direction to the above embodiments. It was felt by this time, the field of industrial relations is in chaos, due to multiplicity of trade unions, political rivalries, which have also weakened the workers' organisations and to eradicate the inherent problems, much emphasis was given to train the workers in trade union philosophy and with the methods to make them self-reliant in this respect. Another step which was taken during this time in building up strong trade unions and to grant them recognition as representative unions under certain conditions. With this in some status the Industrial Relations Code provided for recognition when a union claimed sufficient paying membership as a percentage of union members to total number of workers the union claimed to present with the growing need of strong trade union movement, some statutory provisions for securing recognition of unions were left at the states' effort. To strengthen the unions' activities, emphasis was laid on finances of unions by fixing up their membership fees at extremely low rates and issuing the guide lines for regular payments.

Workers' right to a fair wage was recognised and was difficult to quantity it. A wage policy was adopted to give effect to the structure of wage. Major steps like better layout of plants, improvements in working conditions and training of worker could ensure increase in output without corresponding increasing the strain on workers. Adequate safeguards for workers were granted by giving due places to minimum (full back) wages and protection against fatigue and undue speed-up.

To give large coverage to the social security measures the Provident Fund Scheme which was instituted on statutory basis during the first-five year plan, was extended to cover industries and commercial establishments having 10,000 workers or more in the country as a whole. Enhancement of the rate of contribution from 6¼ percent to 8⅓ Percent was made. A proposal for provision of medical benefits to worker's families under the Employees' State Insurance Scheme was under active Consideration. Extension of the coverage of the scheme was also contemplated. The disabled persons by industrial accidents were provided with alternative employments.

Further step was taken by the planning commission to regulate working conditions of contract labourers and ensuring them continuous employment. Special attention was paid to women workers because of problems peculiar to them. As they suffer social prejudices and physical disabilities, a considerable step was taken to employ them in lower jobs and slightly less risk-taking assignments.

The need for workers' education was accepted on all hands. Various Factory Weltare Departments and State Welfare Centres were established and they organised various film shows in order to give suitable training to the workers.

Much emphasis was laid on the housing problem of the industrial workers and a sum of Rs. 50/- crores was provided with the partial eradication of the same. In addition to this various Susidised Housing Schemes operated with a view to improving the standard of living conditions of workers.

Labour Welfare during Third Five Year Plan : (1961-66)

The industrial relations structure has been designed for the purpose of securing peace in industry and when efforts of parties fail to secure amicable settlement of industrial disputes, the government has assumed powers of intervention. Provision has been made for conciliation of disputes and for enabling state to refer unresolved differences to tribunals set up for the purpose. The stress now is on prevention of unrest by timely action at the appropriate stages and giving adequate attention to root causes. A code of discipline was framed with the objects of promoting constructive co-operation between representatives of workers and management putting specific obligations at all levels. For prompt action of the code, Grievance procedure was adopted and for settlement of disputes the procedure of mutual settlement, conciliation and voluntary arbitation were followed. The deplorable consequences of inter-union rivalry have been mitigated to some extent by the code of conduct during this period.

Two significant things deserve special mention here as :

(i) by penetrating in the workers' mind a sense of belonginess in a form of workers' participation in management which was adopted in Second Plan; and

(ii) by introducing the programme of workers' education with adoption of training of teacher, administrators, and worker-teachers, through a semi autonomus Board of all the employees and worker's organisations.

Government assumed responsibility for securing a minimum wages for certain sections of workers, in industry and agriculture. The machinery for inspection was appointed for better implementation of the law. The Indian Labour Conference indicated that the needbased minimum wage shold be taken up as guidance for the settlement of wage disputes.

The Coverage of Employees' State Insurance Scheme has been widened. Medical care and treatment including hospitilisation and midwifery services were extended to the families of insured persons in centres where the scheme was in operation.

According to the recommendations of the study team on "Social Security, "the integrations of existing social security schemes and the conversion of the various Provident Fund Schemes into a statutory scheme oldage, invalidity and surviorship pension-cum-gratuty". The approach of the scheme was extended to all wage earners of organised industries.

Effective statutory provisions were taken up for improvement of working conditione and safety so as to improve the productive efficiency of the workers. Central Labour Institute and three Regional Labour Institutes were proposed to provide comprehensive service to the industry through training, education and research. A Nationational Mine Safety Council was proposed to be setup regarding safety education and propaganda in the mining industry. Special welfare funds were constituted for financing welfare measures for workers in the coal and mica mining industries.

As the housing provision was felt inadequate, special attention was given to minimum standards in respect of living conditions within a minimum period in the interest in their health and efficiency.

Labour Welfare provisions during fourth five year plan ; (1969-74)

Emphasis was laid upon the trained personnel and a number of Industrial Training Institutes for training craftsmen increased from 163 at march 1961 to 356 in March, 1969. A central Institute for Research and Training in Employment Service was set up in 1964 for conducting research in the field of employment and imparting training to employment officers. During the same year, the Indian Institute of Labour Studies was established to train the industrial relations Officers of Central and State Governments.

The Employees' State Insurance Scheme expanded steadity. The medical cash and other benefits extended to workers increased from Rs. 6/- crores in 1960-61 to Rs. 28/- crores during 1968-69.

In December, 1966, the Government of India had set up a Commission on Labour under the Chairmanship of Sri P. B. Gajendragadkar in order to study the matters relating to labour as :—

(i) To review the changes in conditions of labour since Independence and to report on existing conditions of labour.

(ii) To review the existing legislative and other provisions intended to protect the interest of labour to assess their working and to advise how far these provisions serve to implement the Directive Principles of State Policy in the Constiiution on Labour matters and the national objectives of establishing a socialist society and achieving planned economic development.

(iii) To study and report in particular on—

(a) the levels of workers' earnings, the provisions relating to wages, the need for fixation of minimum wages including a national minimum wage, the means of increasing productivity, including the provision of incentive to workers.

(b) the standard of living and the health efficiency, safety, welfare housing training and education of workers and the existing arrangements for administration of labour welfare- both at Centre and in the states;

(c) the existing arrangements for social security;

(d) the state of relations beetween employers and workers and the role of trade unions and employers' organisations in promoting healthy industrial relations and the interest of the nation;

(e) the labour laws and voluntary arrangements like the Code of Discipline, Joint Management Councils, Voluntary Arbitration and Wage Boards and the machinery at the Centre and in the state for their enforcement;

(f) measures for improving conditions of rural labour and other categories of unorganised labour; and

(g) existing arrangements for labour intelligence and research and

(h) to make recommendations on above matters.

The National Commition on Labour submitted its report in 1969 with the recommendations on various aspects of labour including wages, working conditions, welfare, Trade union development and labour management relations.

For the period 1974-79, wide measures have been taken in labour welfare affairs. The employees' State Insurance Scheme which provides for medical benefit in kind and certain cash benefits to insured persons has to be extended to cover 4.2 million employees as on the later part of June 1973. For further expansion of the scheme, a committee on perspective planning was appointed by the Employees' State Insurance Corporation and as per the recommendation "the Employees State Insurance Scheme should carry out a 5-year phased programme of extension to additional categories of establishments, including smaller factories, shops and commercial establishments, mines and plantations. Provision of family pension has been introduced under the Employees' Provident Fund Scheme since March, 1971.

A wide range of welfare activities for workers of Coal, Mica and Iron ore have been taken up by setting up of welfare funds by the Government. The enactment of Limestone and Dolomite Labour Welfare Act 1972 has now been passed and steps are being taken to set up a welfare fund for the benefit of workers employed in these mines.

A large number of labour welfare centres and Regional Centres are operating under the state plans for improvemet of productive efficiency of workers. Under Workers' Education Progromme, it is proposed to train about 20,000 worker-teachers and 10 lakh workers during the Fifth Plan.

Provisions have been made for Safety Cells for promoting safety measures and the activities of Directorate General of Frctory Advice Service and Labour Institutes would be intensified to undertake further studies on industrial safety, industrial hygiene and occupational health.

The Financial out lays of various plans on labour welfare and craftmanship training programmes.

(Rupees in Crores)

Year 1	Centre 2	Union Territories 3	States 4	Total 5
1960-61	32.7	2.2	20.9	55.8
1966-69	21.0	0.8	13.7	35 5
1974-79	14.57	42.43 (Both in states and Union territories)		57 00

Source—From Five-Year Plans of India.

From the above table it is well predictable that Government is giving much importance on Labour Welfare measures so as to increase the efficiency of the workers and productivity of the country as a whole.

Twenty-point economic programme and labour welfare measures :

The 20-point programme which was announced by our Prime Minister of the nation in July, 1st. 1975, brought consciousness regarding the enormity of economic problems of our country. After the declaration of the programme, several measures have been taken to promote the welfare of the large section of labourers. Strikes, gheraos and lackouts were the order of the day and the entire field of industrial relations was in chaos. That has been mrgically touched and eradicated. Mrs. Gandhi prefaced her new programme with the review of minimum wages legislation even for the agricultural workers whenever necessaary, abolition of barborous practice of bonded labours, which have a wide area for the welfare measures of workers.

Conclusion :

Welfare in industry is the spirit of man conquering his selfish Interests. The welfare of labourers embraces twin objectives : (a) to promote health and efficiency of large section of people to lead a happy life and (b) to increase production in order to make the country to be self-sufficient. The Indian Constitution prescribes the labour welfare which are not amenities, but the right atmosphere through legal actions, where the workers can breathe an air of growth and development and think constructively, so as to understand the play and interplay of his subconscious instincts and conscious emotions. The worker is a human being and the constitution has recognised the very worthy section of the population by giving wide range of facilities from time to time through Five Year Plans to stimulate the interests in them and to enable the state Governments for rigorous enforcement of the labour laws to sefeguard the interest of the country as a whole.

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A CRITIQUE OF THE PHENOMENOLOGICAL ATTACK AGAINST NEW CRITICISM

Sadananda Mishra

The two European critical movements which are presently gaining ground in the Anglo-American literary world are phenomenological and structuralist 'schools' of criticism. These two new critical disciplines now pose the greatest challenge to the New Critical theory and practice which still remains a strong force in the absence of a demonstrably superior alternative. It would be wrong to consider New Critical theory as a dead discipline or a vogue that has passed as some critics have been arguing.[1] It remains a living and forceful poetics and an established method of critical analysis. Most of the Anglo-American literary critics trained in the hey day of New Criticism continue to practise and teach the same method of close reading and discrete analysis of texts. Its roots have gone so deep and its gain have been so great that it is not likely that this major critical achievement of the twentieth century will be abandoned in favour of some recent movement or formulation unless it offers us a really superior literary theory and methodology. It is a common phenomenon that critics always look for new epistemologies and methodologies with the hope of illuminating literature through newly gained perspectives, but it is also true that new methods are quickly and sharply rejected if they fail to fulfil certain basic critical needs. Now it is natural that phenomenology and structuralism that have made their appearance on the Anglo-American scene in recent years should be looked upon in this light as refreshing alternatives to the once new New Criticism. J. Hillis Miller, a follower and advocate of "Geneva school", for example, writes : "Now it appears possible that European ways of doing criticism, wheather that of the so called 'Geneva School' or that of the more recent Structuralist critics in Paris, may present themselves to Americans as alternatives to New Criticism or archetypal criticism "[2] Even though a quite a few important critics have sworn their allegiance to this new movements these are still far from being accepted as valid alternatives. They still hover on the periphery and are looked at with misgivings. Their presuoppsitions and premises are yet to be unambiguously stated, questioned, and examined before they are rejected. And more importantly the question whether these new alternatives are in fact more comprehensive than New Criticism or are fraught with even more glaring limitations, has to be decided.

Now in this essay we might take up the attack of the phenomenological critics. Some of the basic concepts of New Criticism such as the self-sufficiency of the aesthetic object (the poem) and discrete analysis of individual poems are now challenged by the European school of literary criticism variously known as "the Geneva school", "the critics of consciousness", "Phenomenological critics" or "Genetic critics". The chief exponent of Geneva school is the Belgian critic Georges Poulet whose position can be summed up as Hillis Miller has done : "Consciousness of consciousness and literature about literature" that is what criticism is. The other important figures are Albert Beguin, Marcel Raymond, J. P. Richard, Jean Starobinski, Jean Rousset, Gaston Bachelard and Paul de Man. Among the American critics who are influenced in a general way by the phenomenological criticism of the above mentioned critics are J. Hillis Miller (Poulet's student), Geoffrey Hartman, Ihab Hassan, Harold Bloom, Richard Palmer, Susan Sontag, Paul Brodtkorb and David Halliburton. All these critics more or less study literature subjectively and consider it as an "act" or "experience" of the author and study his consciousncess as manifested in his works. Their main point of attack is the New critical concept of a poem as an autonomous object and the method of discrete analysis associated with such a concept. Phenomenological critic's indignation for objective, discrete analysis is expressed in various ways by the critics mentioned above. In extreme cases the objective analysis of the New Critics is castigated as "forceable seizure" and "rape of the text" whereas interpretation should be a "loving union" between the work and the critic.[3] In the pages that follow I have reviewed some of the major charges of phenomenological critics and attempted to examine as to how far the principle and practice of these critics will be able to replace New Criticism or remedy its failings.

The original impulse behind the phenomenological critic's attack was that the New Critics tended to use positivistic methods to examine a self-contained language object called a poem using devices derived from and influenced by modern scientific-empiristic techniques. They wanted to assert the primacy of unmediated vision as against exclusive preoccupation with the screen of words which obscures the flow of consciousness. Although the charge seemed plausible at the time—some thought that New critic's effort was to make criticism a science (an instance of failure of nerve in the face of the long strides of science)—the emphasis was all the time on bringing out uniqueness of literary discourse which required an entirely different approach and analysis, namely the aesthetic. It might be that in an influential work like *The Armed Vision*[4] S. E. Hayman pleaded for increasing use of techniques borrowed from other realms of knowledge such as psychology, sociology and so on for the explication of a literary text. All the same the true centre of New Critical thought and achievement was to be found in the work of a Ransom or a Tate who consistently maintain the literary critic's opposition to such encroachments from science and scientific disciplines. Ransom argued that the abstraction of science commits a coldblooded murder upon the rich, contingent particularity of "the World's Body". Literature and art were considered by Ransom as antidote to the predatory cnquerer—science. Ransom writes: "As science more and more reduces the world to its types and forms, art, replying must invest it again with body."[5] The disinterested, impersonal and objective methods of the New Critics which resemble those of science were not really that. As Gerald Graff rightly points out:

> The kind of objective interpretation Ransom sought to apply to literature was antithetical to scientific abstraction and categorization; literary interpretation, Ransom thought, was properly 'disinterested' whereas scientific abstraction necessarily involved the pursuit of practical, utilitarian interests.[6]

Although the New Critics insisted on literature's status as a sort of valid knowledge, the method that they employed in literary exegesis (this was even true of Cleanth Brooks) was entirely different from the wholly objective method of scientific analysis in that it involved the thinking subject who brought to his consciousess the mental images embodied by the words. Without such a participation in the sensuousness and the feeling enshrined in the texture of the poetic work a Cleanth Brooks would not be able to demonstrate the force of paradox or irony underlying a poem. "The Naked Babe and the cloak of Manliness" could only derive its force from this participation of the critic into that something that lies behind the screen of words. So the phenomenological critic's gravamen (as in Hartman and Hassan) against the New Critics that they obtruded the immediacy of poetic language by pushing themselves in between the reader and the poet's vision and that they borrowed the scientific methods to examine it is largely illfounded. Such a charge appears to be a gross mispresentation in the face of the persistent condemnation of science by the New Critics. To quote Graff once again: "The fact that the rise of New Critical objective interpretation coincided historically with the development of objective methodologies in other disciplines seems to confirm this view. But to view New critical interpretation as analogous to empirical-scientific method is a misrepresentation based on stereotyped prejudices about the nature of objectivity and a failure to examine what the New Critics actually said and why they said it."[7] Far from being influenced by science the New Critics opposed science and its aly, positivism, tooth and nail. It would be really very shortsighted to overlook the manner in which the New Critics resisted the inroads of positivism to literary study which swallowed up many other fields of human knowledge in this century. It is true that phenomenology added a useful dimension which could at the best be a corrective to the excess of exegesis of the epigones of New Criticism but the New Critics themselves remain immune to the phenomenological attack in the main.

The crux of the problem lies in the critic's attitude to the language of poetry. The phenomenological critics, by and large, have not paid enough attention that it deserves. To them it is something simply taken for granted. The sole concentration is given to the act of consciouness on the part of the reader oblivious of the fact that such an act is conditioned by the special quality of language that occurs in poetry. They tend to take it simply as a transprent material and have no patience to enquire why it is that the act of consciousness that they ascribe to the reader becomes possible by virtue of the special kind of use of language by the poet. The New Critics have always pondered the distinction between language as it functions in discursive and practical situations and the transformation it undergoes in the poetic process-i. e., referential language of everyday use and the tensive, self-referential language of poetry that arrests that function of ordinary signification. The recent works like that of Earnest Cassirer and Susan Langer have highlighted the symbolic function of language of poetry that conveys the virtual experience and the pith and force of the mythical. Incidentally this approach constitutes an extention of the Romantic view of language. More pertinent perhaps to our purpose here is the stand Paul Valery took on language when he compared the everyday use of language to walking in contradistinction to that of poetry which is analogous to dancing. The gestures and movements involved in walking and their meaning and significance are all absorbed by the nature and purpose of the act of walking whereas gestures and movements of dance call attention to themselves and have significance in a wholly new manner. They are themselves the meaning of the dance. In a like manner the language of poetry calls attention to itself and becomes the purveyor of a new kind of significance. The French symbolists like Mallarme gave it a philip by insisting that "poetry is written with words and not with ideas". The immediate predecessors of New Critics like I. A. Richards and T. S. Eliot similarly give the primacy to the question of the language of poetry even though not in the same manner, in which Krieger has given. Richard's was a form of the contextual theory of meaning—the semantic approach—and he busied himself in trying to define for himself the action that takes place within language because of the juxtaposition of language elements in a certain order—recalling his famous phrase, "the interinanimation of words". His sustained interest in the metaphorical function, whether crystalized into a pattern of tenors and vehicles or dispersed in an imperceptible manner throughout a unit of poetic discourse, was further extended by P. Whellwright in his work like ***Metaphor and Reality*** with his concept of "tensive language" and the various forms thereof as against of the steno language of ordinary discourse. This thinking, as one can realize, has further and deepeer roots in Coleridgean thought where metaphor actually realizes and creates qualities and aspects of objects not apprehended by any other means. It's easy to see that the so called sometime maligned, "close analysis of texts" that critics like Ransom, Tate and Brooks are held responsible for is impossible without a firm appreciation of this whole line of thinking about language. Their method is to be immediately concerned with language but language means in this context the whole gamut of poetic experience and contact with mental objects, acts of the imagination and the very core of the artistic substance which reveals itself through the poetic word.

While the phenomenological critics attack the New Critics for stressing the importance of an analysis of the language object it is one of their patient weaknesses that they have almost totally ignored the issue of languages. For instance to a critic like Poulet literature is not in effect language nor does he recognise that it is a structure composed of language. To quote : "A literary text is above all a living, conscious reality, a thought that thinks to itself and which, in thinking, becomes thinkable to us a voice that speaks to us from within".[8] The image of literature as a voice, however, ignores the very important fact that the voice makes itself manifest through a particular structure of words that correspond to the reality of a given text without an analysis of which we cannot reach it. The reason why Poulet ignores the need for such an analysis is that for him the entire language object is an existential framework which directly communicates the poetic vision. This accounts for their emphasis on the immediacy of perception. But the fact remains that the analysis of the language of the text alone can guide us to the specific nature of that poetic vision. Otherwise there is no warrant of truth or falsity of the perception itself. The phenomenological critic leaves the text open to the vagaries of pure subjectivism or impressionism since there is no norm to determine which interpretation corresponds to the text and which not. Poulte's remarks indicating his method make it clear to us that language is something like a transparent medium through which his own consciousness enters into that of the poet as represented by the text. He says that the reader becomes "a prey of language and that language surrounds him with unreality". He glimpses through the words as premental forms which is the interior universe constituted by language. How he gains entry into this interior universe remains a mystery. Poulet's most celebrated methodological concept discussed earlier—the act of identification through reading—is shrouded in mystery. The concept appeals more to imagination than to actual practice—the business of criticism. Emanuel Levinas, a French critic, has implicitely challenged Poulet's notion of identification. His work is based on the concept of the radical otherness of the other. The mind of another person is so alien and impenetrable that he says, it is not at all possible to "lift the veil which hides the other". The consciousness of another person cannot be felt as an immediate presence; one can only "encounter indirect signs and traces of his passage".[9]

To go back to the problem of transparency of language one finds that for New Criticism the screen of language is not opaque as abhored by the phenomenological critics but it is only a medium that can guide the reader's mind to the mental objects composing that universe Poulet talks about. There must be and is a definite corelation between the specific nature of the mental objects composing that universe and highly organised pattern of the language of the poetic object. Attention to language would direct the effort at empathy. Hence it is clearly a perversion of the New Critical method to regard their analysis of poetic language as a hindrance to the apprehension of the poetic experience enshrined in the poem. Their method implies a certain difference between the language of poetry and language of ordinary discourse. It is because of this difference that the poetic language admits of a close and fruitful analysis as they have demonstrated while in Poulet's criticism this distinction is slurred over In fact there is a complete disregard of all formal textures that pertain to both language and genre. As. G. Hartman points out in his essay "Beyond Formalism": "Poulet's method is to place himself in writer's consciousness. He can do this by ignoring all formal distinctions, as between part and whole or preface, novel, journalistic comment, *obiter dicta*".[10] His tendency is to take the *oeuvre* of a writer into consideration as the "text" ignoring the distinction between the nature of the discourse. Firstly, even within the total creative work of a writer there are distinctions to be recognised by way of distinct pieces of creative writing, even within fiction there are different modes of narration dictated by the specific requirement of the creative experience. The *raison d'etre* of New Csitics' insistence on discrete analysis of individual texts considering it as an autonomous entity is thus based on a recognition of this fact.

All this is blurred, in fact lost sight of, in the phenomenological critic's approach. To begin with, they regard the creative act, as we have seen, as an act of consciousness; it is the writer's intentionality that creates an interior universe so to say which is presented to the reader's consciousness. The intervening language object does not have any status at all while for the New Critics a scrutiny of the intervening object that channels the act of consciousness is indeed necessary. There is no other way of approaching that act except by careful attention to the language object. For Poulet as soon as he begins to read the words of a literary work a "quantity of significance grasps his mind" and he realizes that what he holds in his hand is no longer just an object or simply a living thing. He is aware of a rational being of a consciousness—a consciousness of another which is open to him, welcomes him, and even allows him with "unheard of licence", to think what it thinks to feel what it feels. So the first thing that happens is the disappearance of the language object, the form ; it has become a series of images and ideas which has existence now only in the innermost self of the reader. The end result of that process is that the reader's consciousnesness behaves as though it were the consciousness of another.

Needless to say, the entire business of criticism is made to depend on a mystic and speculative act not amenable to a rational process. The end of the criticism too is a recreation of the original vision in an equally mystic manner. In other words what we mean by criticism is the composing of another artistic world upon the original, the one which is being explicated—resulting in a poem upon a poem, The New Critic holds that criticism though it is closely related and indeed dependent upon the original is a somewhat different kind of activity which combines the rational and the intutive.

It is easy to see that for the phenomenological critic the notion of form or genre is of no significance altogether. The critic according to them should not view the text from outside as the New Critic does in a formal objective manner; rather he must attempt to identify himself subjectively with the work. The approach is out and out anti-formal, anti-analytical, anti-whatever New Criticism has roughly done in the last sixty years. George Poulet is the champion of anti-formalism and totally ignores the claims of forms in art in favour of an unmediated subjectivity. For him form is static and dead "subjectively". Says Poulet, "there is nothing formal about literature". He is prepared to say that the word *thought* could easily replace language without any incongruity. The only concept of form that is involved is in the sense that an artistic object is a form of the consciousness of the author; and in turn, the author's consciousness is a form of the consciousness of the age. For him creative act is "consciousness taking form". It may be mentioned in passing that Poulet has a vast scheme to write the history the human consciousness. Thus this kind of criticism ignores all formal distinctions as between one creative work of the author and another, between his creative work and his discursive writings and between the work of the author as a whole and that of the age.

There is obviously a misunderstanding here regarding the functions of form in relation to both consciousness and language. It has been the axiom of aesthetics that thought and feeling define themselves by finding an appropriate embodiment in form and language. If we are to ignore the formal distinctions in creative work there is no basis whatever for our positing the uniqueness of a work of art. Any act of consciousness would otherwise seem to be like any other. The only evidence of distinction we have is the shape it takes when concretized in language. It is inevitable that the critic has to start with his donnes, namely language, which has taken such a shape. It may be fiction, drama, poetry and so on without the specific distinctiveness of shape and form whithin each of the broad patterns. An unmediated experience has no meaning. In artistic terms it is not wholly formed; the act of giving form is also the act of enforcing significance on it. If the New Critics have always laid emphasis on analysis of form and technique, it is their central concern for the uniqueness of a work of art that has been their main impulse Form to them does not mean a static or meaningful unit; it is conceived as an organic living thing so that in examinging it they are in fact carrying out what Poulet considers as important, namely, an emphathetic understanding of consciousness behind the works. We have said earlier that "texture" and the "structure" of a work of art which constitute its form cannot be examined without the act of consciousness that pierces through the medium at every point.

It has been suggested that the New Critics tend to take form in a highly spatialized sense; "their metaphor of poetry tended towards the static, e. g., Wellwrought Urns, verbal icons, and structure etc", and towards the "atamporal motionless fixity of spatial form". "The phenomenological critics presumably counter this tendency by embracing an amorphous kind of flow of consciousness. The anti-formalism of many of the phenomenological critics as Murray Krieger urges poetry to return to chaos, chance, casual and finally "to the unformed continuum of the raw given."[11] Now much of truth is there in the charges that the New Critics tend to take form in term of the static and spatial? For one thing such a charge would have no meaning when applied to critics like Ransom and Tate who consciously broke away from the kind of monistic stand a Cleanth Brooks appears to take. In their approach to poetry neither the total form, shape of the entire work, nor the analysis of texture, the metaphorical and iconic elements of language are understood in a static sense. The very fact that they distinguish "struature" from "texture" is a proof of this. Structure implies a flow of argument, a movement of mind, a coherence of part into whole with possibilities of change, climax and resolution (denouement). Even the "texture" with which that argument is blooded has a vibrant power in it that energizes the whole.

Apart from these specific issueses like language and form the phenomenological critics' general approach has weakness of being purely inpressionistic and a highly egocentric one. They have little to offer by way of objective criterian to judge poetic excellence or to distinguish one creative work from another. They tend to concentrate on universality and neglect the poem as an object and its texture which is the very heart of the problem as far as literary criticism is concerned. Without an objective basis for checking the correctness of interpretation a mere reading through the mysterious process of *entre'e* for experience of the consciousness of an author is subject to unchecked relativism where all kinds of interpretation would be equally "correct". Though organicistic poetics of the New Critics prevented them from having a strict objective basis of a poem, their emphasis on the close analytical critic's omission of this aspect makes him vulnerable to the grave charge of relativism.

Then there is the important question of context. What is the context of a poem ? The quarrel among the critics is the disagreement about the context in which a literay work is to be studied. For the New Critics each poem is to be studied by itself. It has a unique structure of meaning generated by words and images. Whatever meaning emerges is not to be referred to the other works of the author. It is the tale not teller that is important. The phenomenological critics take the essential context of any poem as everything else the author wrote. The meaning of a text for them is a system of relations which links it to the pattern of the author's whole work. In other word , in the phenomenological view the proper context for literary interpretation is the coherence of one man's life, the effort being to get at the consciousness of the author. In the words of Bernad Weingberg: "In his discussion of poets unfortunaeely I cannot say of poetry—Poulet exploits a thematic method that is equally disruptive of texts and destructive of poems. Each study of a poet asks what kind of concecption of time is present in his works, seeks and collects the fragments of poems that contains the theme or its by themes, organizes them into the total demonstration."[12]

Finally criticism the main thrust of phenomenological is towards psycology or philosophy, and in this sense very much nonaesthetic. Phenomenological critics have shown great interest in the poet as a man —his biography and not so much in the work of art he has produced. As a result of this centrifugal movement we find Poulet writing more on Descrates the man not Descrates the Philosopher and a Richard reconstituting the psyche of individual poet rather than anlysing the works they have produced. The poems appear to be a flimsy means for making the ghost of the author to rise. Thus phenomenological criticism say in a Brodtkorb or Haliburton has degenerated into psychological criticism of a different sort. Themes that most attract them are such universals like time, space and circle, themes that they seek and find in almost any period of any literature. Weinburg writes : "Poulet and Richard flee that centre; they move outward in the direction of philosopaical generalization ... or of psychological reconstitution."[13] In this process what is sacrified or ignored is the aesthetic quality which is the real preoccupation of the New Critic. That perhaps is the decisive limitation which will ultimately render phenomenological opposition ineffectual however much it might help to correct certain excess of the New Critical approach misunderstood and misapplied.

NOTES

1. See for example J. H. Raleigh's articles "The New Criticism as a Historical Phenomenon," *Comparative Literature*, 11 (winter,1959). There are many other critics such as Doughlas Brush, H. Waggoner, T, Weiss and all American phenomenological critics in general, who are of opinion that the vogue of New Criticism is over.

2. J. Hillis Miller, *The Disappearance of God : Five 19th Century writers* (New York. 1963), p. VIII.

3. See Richard Palmer's *Heremeneutics*, Evanston (Illionis, North Western University Press, 1969), pp. 6-7 and p. 244.

4. S. E. Hayman, *The Armed Vision* (Now York, Random House, 1955, Revised edition, abridged by the Author), pp. 386-402.

5. John Crow Ransom, *The World's Body* (New York, Charless Scribners Sons, 1938), p, 198.

6. Gerald Graff, "What was New Criticism ?Literary Interpretation and Scientific Objectivity," *Salmagundi*, No. 27 (Summer-Fall, 1974), p. 78.

7. Ibid , p. 78.

8. Quoted by S. Lawall in *Critics of Consciousness* (Combridge, Mass, Harvard University Press, 1968) p. 81.

9. See J. Hillis Miller's essay "Geneva or Paris ? The Recent Works of Georges Poulet," *University of Toronto Qly*, Vol. 39, No. 3 (April, 1970), p. 222.

10. G. H. Hartman, *Beyond Formalism* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1970), p. 51.

11. Murray Hrieger, "Mediation, Language and Vision in the Reading Literature" in *Interpretation : Theory and Practide*, ed. Charles S. Singleton (Baltmiore, Johne Hopkins University Press, 1969), p. 216.

12. Bernard Weinberg, the preface to *Types of Tnemetic Structure : The Nature and Function of Motiffs in Gide, Camus and Sartre* by E. H. Falk (Chicago, 1976), pp. XIV-XV.

13. Ibid., p. XVI.

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